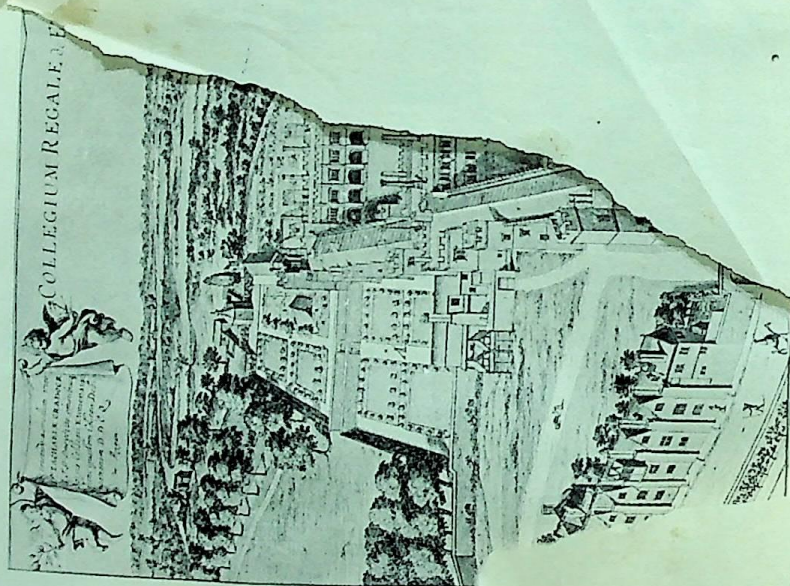
BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF ETON COLLEGE. 1688

See page 140

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY D. LOGGAN

"Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
angulus ridet

HOR. *Od.* ii. 6

& CO.
TREET, W.C.
ON

ANNALS

OF

THE KING'S COLLEGE OF OUR LADY OF ETON BESIDE WINDSOR

BY

WASEY STERRY, M.A.

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF THE SAID COLLEGE

"Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
angulus ridet

HOR. *Od.* ii. 6

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET, W.C.
LONDON
1898

TO

C. G. B.,

WHO HAS TAKEN NO INTEREST IN THE
COMPILATION OF THIS BOOK,
IN ALL PROBABILITY WILL NOT READ IT,
AND WAS NOT EVEN AN ETON BOY,
BUT YET IN THE ETON SPEECH OF AN OLDER DAY
IS ASSUREDLY THE BEST OF "CONS"

PREFACE

PREFACES are proverbially left unread, but they serve an office similar to that of the letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer signed with initials and enclosing the halves of bank notes. They are the method by which the author pays conscience money; and anyone writing a history of Eton will find that his debts cannot fail to be heavy. After Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte's monumental book there are but beggarly gatherings for the gleaner, and I cannot express too humbly how much I am indebted to him. Next to that, Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of Cambridge*, and *Etoniana*, a brilliant book by a non-Etonian, have been of great service. The Sloane MSS. in the British Museum and the Rawlinson MSS. at Oxford contain a good deal of matter in a somewhat chaotic state and with a great deal of repetition, but they are the foundation of all the histories of Eton. I should have liked to have made more detailed examination than has been possible of the Eton muniments, which sadly want proper calendaring and arrangement. Some gleanings have been afforded by the Calendars of State Papers and the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission; but it is much to be wished that some more of our Etonian families would search their family papers for old letters and diaries that would throw light on the daily life of Eton boys in past times. There must be many such, and yet those that have been published or calendared are

very few. Probably, too, there are hidden away in like places many copies of old Eton lists or absence rolls of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, and if their owners would only search them out it might be possible to make some sort of complete list of Etonians from the foundation to the time when Mr. Chetwynd Stapylton's *Lists* begin. We have always been at Eton a little heedless of our ancient history, a little too apt not to care, till it was too late to recover the old things from the deeps of time; and if this book induces only a few Etonians to pay more regard to their spiritual ancestry, and have respect unto them that fashioned Eton long ago, it will have been well worth the writing.

It only remains for me to acknowledge the kindness of Her Majesty in allowing the Windsor portrait of the founder to be reproduced, and of the Provost in permitting the reproduction of several of the pictures in his possession. My thanks are also due for similar permissions to the Head Master for the picture of the Montem procession, to Mr. R. Durnford for the miniatures of Dr. and Mrs. Keate, to the Rev. C. Wigan Harvey for the miniature of his grandfather, to Mr. R. Cope for a drawing of the Christopher, to the Eton Society for a page of its Journal, to Mr. R. Ingalton Drake for a photograph of Lower School from his *Sun Pictures of Eton*, to the Rev. J. H. Slessor for the reproduction of the brass of John Kent, scholar of Winchester, to Lord Howick, Mr. K. H. Bruce, Mr. R. H. Malden, and Mr. A. Maxwell Lyte for the scene at Speeches.

W. S.

August, 1898.

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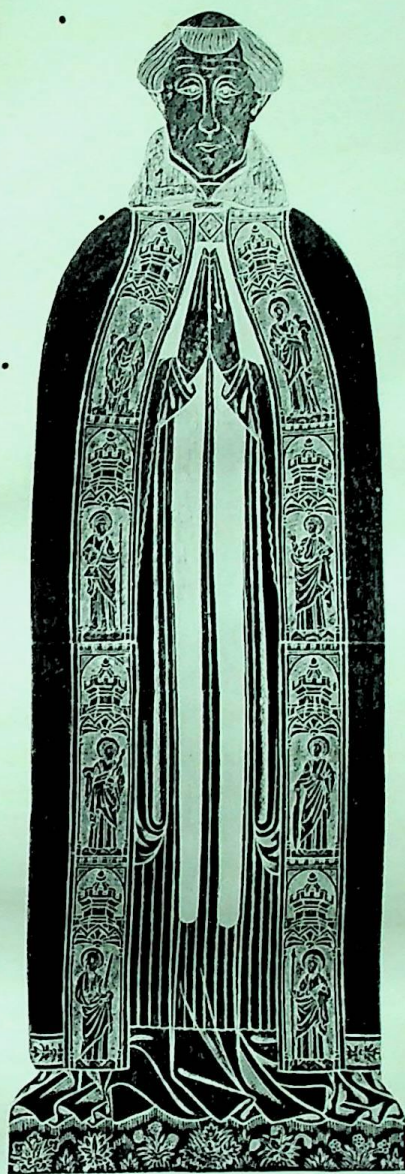
OF Henry VI., the founder of Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, "most hapless and gentlest of star-crossed kings," few probably could be found to affirm that he was "every inch a king." Least of all would Henry himself have made any such boast; and yet many greater men and many more famous kings, who have played far bigger parts on the world's stage than he, have left behind them far less abiding memorials of their wisdom, and deserve far less the gratitude of their posterity. Though one tends to associate the rise of the grammar schools with the name of another scholar-king, and to attribute their foundation largely to the outburst of educational enthusiasm that followed the introduction of the new learning, and that supersession of the old which was caused by the dissolution of the monastic system, yet it is worthy of remark that, long before the reign of Edward VI., many of the greatest minds of their age had perceived the necessity of establishing a better system of education than that existing. The monasteries, once the pioneers of education, had ceased to take the lead; and the

poor scholars, but also any others from the realm of England who came there to learn grammar, and that without payment in money or kind. A year or two later, however, in 1444, when the first statutes were drawn up, the constitution of the College was somewhat altered, and it was ordered that there should be a provost, seventy poor scholars, ten fellows priests, ten chaplains, ten clerks hired and removable, four of whom were gentlemen clerks, sixteen chorister boys, a head-master, and another master under him, 'vulgarly called the scholars' usher,' and thirteen poor infirm men.

The Charter nominates Henry Sever as Provost, John Kette as Vice-Provost, William Haston and William Dene as Fellows, Gilbert Grefe and John Moddyng as Clerks, Roger Flecknore, William Kente, John Helewyn *alias* Gray, and Henry Cokkes as Choristers, William Stokke and Richard Cokkes as Scholars, and John Burdon and John de Evesham as Almsmen, but no Head Master is mentioned. Henry Sever was afterwards Warden of Merton College Oxford, and is buried in Merton Chapel, where, within the altar rail, is a brass to his memory, representing him at full length in ecclesiastical dress. Thus early began a connection between Eton and Merton which has always existed more or less closely, fostered by the foundation by John Chamber (*ob.* 1604) of two postmasterships at Merton for Etonians, and illustrated by Sir Henry Savile's tenure of both provostship and wardenship, and the many Etonians who have been educated at Merton down to the present Warden, the Hon. George Brodrick, who is not only an Etonian, but a member of the Eton Governing Body and a Fellow under the new constitution.

John Kette, the first Vice-Provost, was Rector of Eton, to which he had been presented by Henry, whose first step for the endowment of the College had been to obtain the advowson of the parochial Church. The next step was to

HENRY SEVER, 1ST PROVOST

FROM A BRASS IN MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL

transform the parochial Church into a collegiate Church, and this was effected on October 13th, 1440, by the proctors appointed by the King and certain commissioners appointed at the King's request by the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Eton then was and till this century remained. On the completion of these proceedings Kette resigned the rectory, which has ever since been considered as an appanage of the provostship.

Down to the year 1769, when by the liberality of William Hetherington the first Chapel-of-Ease was built, the only place of worship for the inhabitants of Eton was the College Chapel, and it was not until 1875 that the parish of Eton was constituted a separate vicarage, and what had strictly been only a Chapel-of-Ease made the parish Church.

The site of the original parish Church was in the graveyard north of the present Chapel, and for some time until the new building was completed it served as Collegiate Church, and though so soon to be superseded, large sums of money were spent on its fabric and adornments. Between 1445 and 1447 the chancel was rebuilt, rood-loft and stalls provided, a pew for the King and Queen shut off by glazed parcloses, and a great quantity of coloured, "floryshid," and "powdred" glass, with figures of prophets and saints and divers coats of arms, set up in the windows. It is, perhaps, worth remarking that the use of the word "Chapel" is quite modern; people of the elder generation at Eton still speak of it, more correctly, as "the Church."

To return, however, from this digression, Henry's next proceeding after the formal induction of the first Provost was to get the sanction of the Pope, Eugenius IV., to his scheme. One of the King's chaplains, Dr. Richard Chester, was sent to Italy, and he was followed in a few months by a second envoy, Dr. Richard Caunton.

The Pope was complaisant, and in January, 1441, he issued

three bulls for Henry's benefit, one confirming the scheme generally, a second allowing the King to assign suitable costume to the members of the College, and the third allowing the Provost and College to farm out their lands even to laymen.

Henry's next care was for the suitable endowment of the College, and he proceeded to assign to the Provost and College various lands in the parish of Eton and elsewhere, and tithes, rents, advowsons, manors, and manorial rights in different parts of the kingdom. Of the lands in Eton most of them had been purchased by the King himself: they were generally small gardens and tenements, distinguished as a rule by the names of their then or former owners. Thus, by letters patent of January 31st, 1441, a curtilege lately purchased of William Whaplade Nicholas Clopton and John Faryndon, and called "Hundercombesgardyne," a tenement formerly belonging to John Rolff, and called "Rolveshawe," two tenements, a curtilege, and two rents lately purchased from Thomas Jourdelay, and other similar properties were granted to the College. A few of the names that we come across in these deeds still survive; *e.g.*, Jourdelay's Place, the house for so many years occupied by the late Mr. Hale.

But the source of the greater part of the endowments of Eton was the property of the alien priories. Ever since the Conquest the abbeys of Normandy had been obtaining grants of land in England from persons piously disposed, and thereupon the abbeys would establish dependent cells or priories to manage their English estates, and transmit a larger or smaller part of the revenues to the mother houses in Normandy. The possession by foreigners of lands in England was always looked upon with considerable jealousy, and finally Henry V. confiscated all the lands of the alien priories for the benefit of the Crown. Most of them eventually passed to Henry VI., and many of the lands

still belonging to Eton formed part of them. In the Library and Muniment Room at Eton there still exist many of the ancient title deeds once in the possession of such abbeys as Fécamp, Clugny, Yvry, Caen, and Herlouin-Bec. From the last, one of the greatest of the Norman abbeys, some of its English estates took their name, and among the lands granted by Henry VI. to his College we find "the manor of Bekford, with its appurtenances in the counties of Gloucester and Lincoln," and "the manor of Wedonbek and its appurtenances in the county of Northampton." The name is familiar to Londoners in the name of Tooting Bec. Many of the deeds have fine seals appended to them, which comprise almost a complete set from the time of William Rufus, with his mark for signature, down to the time of the Tudors. Besides the lands, the King granted to the Provost and College the right of petitioning and receiving from the Pope letters and bulls, and what was probably of more value, exemption from the jurisdiction and exactions of many of the royal officers and the requisitions that less favoured persons had to meet. The King's marshals, sheriffs, coroners, bailiffs, foresters, and so on, were to have no power over the estates of the College, and they were to be free from "aids, subsidies, contributions, tallages, quota," and a whole host of other charges levied on the ordinary subjects of the Crown.

These grants of property and privileges were for the most part made by the King's letters patent or charter, and confirmed by Parliament, and as confirmed are to be found entered on the rolls of Parliament, extending from the year 1442 to 1459,* in which latter year a general charter of confirmation was made, with the authority of Parliament, of the various grants of property and privileges to the Provost and College of Eton, to be held by them in "free, pure, and perpetual alms" for ever.

* HEYWOOD and WRIGHT, pp. 387–476.

One considerable property given by Henry to the College, now no longer belonging to them, does not appear in any of these documents, but is worth mentioning. It is that of the leper hospital of St. James, Westminster, which was granted by the King on the 30th October, 1449. The residence of the Master of the Hospital served to lodge the Provost or any Fellow who had occasion to travel to London on College business. The lands, if they still belonged to Eton, would produce a princely revenue, but, unfortunately for the College, the covetous Henry VIII. wanted this property for the erection of the royal palace which still bears the name of St. James, and made Provost Lupton exchange it for lands a good deal less valuable, giving rise to the saying—

"Henricus Octavus took away more than he gave us."

Henry thus obtained 158 acres between Charing Cross and Hay Hill, 64 acres being on the south of what is now Piccadilly, and 94 acres on the north, besides 18 acres at Knightsbridge, and a few more in Chelsea and Fulham.

This spoliation was followed eleven years later, in 1542, by further royal demands, and the College was compelled to part for £52 with further property of the Hospital of St. James, viz., six acres of meadows in the parishes of St. Pancras and Marylebone, and fourteen acres of woodland. Fortunately over a hundred acres of land near Primrose Hill were left to the College, and an inspection of the map of London with the names of King Henry's Road, Oppidans Road, and so forth will indicate the situation of the property.

To return, however, to the Founder's provision for his College. The Charter of 1444 contains a grant to the College of two fairs to be held yearly at a spot called "Mychelmyldeshey," identified by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte with part of the present Playing Fields. One fair was to be held on the six days following the 13th August, and the other on the three days next after Ash-Wednesday. The August fair

was no doubt for the benefit of the pilgrims resorting to Eton for the Feast of the Assumption, the other for the benefit of the College and neighbourhood in laying in a store of salt fish and other commodities for the Lenten fast. In the early Audit Books of the College we always meet with an item of expenditure for salt fish for Lent. The Ash-Wednesday fair existed in the form of a pig fair held in the main street of Eton down till modern times, and sixty or seventy years ago there was the yearly recurring excitement for Eton boys of robbing, or attempting to rob, the pigs of their tails in the very short intervals of spare time allowed on that day by the authorities; for whether to mortify the flesh, or prevent conflicts with the pig jobbers, there was not only all the work of an ordinary whole school day, but all the chapel of a holy day, with an extra lecture besides from one of the Fellows.

The particular application of the clause in Henry's charter of 1444, referred to above, in which he gives leave for the College to petition and receive from the Pope letters and bulls, becomes plain, when we consider that at this time the acceptance or publication of such was an offence involving all the penalties of *Praemunire*, and at this time or shortly before Henry was actually engaged in trying to obtain from the Pope further bulls, which would bring great temporal advantages to the new College. The King's representatives in Italy, Dr. Richard Chester and Dr. Richard Caunton, succeeded in obtaining as early as 1441 a bull, granting to all penitents visiting Eton at the Feast of the Assumption indulgences equal to those granted to the pilgrims to St. Peter ad Vincula in Rome on August 1st, but offerings were to be made at the collegiate Church. A year later (9th May, 1442), by another bull, plenary instead of partial indulgence was granted to the pilgrims, but three-quarters of the offerings of the faithful penitents were secured by Eugenius for the defence of Christendom against the

Turks A few weeks later the Pope issued a further bull, authorizing the Provost to hear the confessions of all members of the College, either in person or by deputy, and to absolve them from their sins and the ecclesiastical punishments thereof, except in cases specially reserved for the Apostolic chair, and even in such cases he might do so once.

Finally, in 1444, the King obtained what he had set his heart upon: the power of granting plenary indulgences at the Feast of the Assumption at Eton was made unconditional, and the offerings of penitents were henceforth for the sole advantage of the College; and in 1447 there was added to this a power for the Eton confessors on the feast day to commute the vows of all penitents, except vows of pilgrimage to Rome or Compostella. And the Provost was empowered to grant seven years' indulgence to pilgrims visiting the Collegiate Church on any festival of the Virgin, on that of St. Nicholas (Founder's Day), or that of the Translation of Edward the Confessor. All the bulls mentioned, having their original or leaden seals or *bullæ* attached, still exist among the Eton archives, with the exception of the earliest, of which there is only a copy. They have been printed in full in the *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii., published in the Rolls Series. Probably the later bulls were sought by Henry as a convenient means of raising money for the erection of the College buildings, but as Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, from a search in the Eton Audit Books, remarks, the pilgrimages do not appear to have proved very profitable, and the cost of entertaining so many strangers used often to exceed the amount of the offerings, which ranged from £20 to £30 a year.

The foundation stone of the College was laid by the King himself, in a spot afterwards covered by the high altar of the new Church. In 1443 Thomas Bekynton, according to his Register preserved at Wells, was consecrated Bishop of Bath

and Wells in the "not yet half-finished Church, under a tent at the altar, erected directly over the place where King Henry VI. laid the first stone." The Building Accounts at Eton, a most interesting and valuable mine of information for fifteenth-century work and wages, begin with July 3rd, 1441, and by 1442 sufficient progress had been made to allow the school to be opened.

The first Head Master was William Waynflete, one of the greatest of the benefactors of Eton, and the Founder of Magdalen College Oxford, the three lilies in whose coat of arms commemorate Waynflete's connection with Eton. When he was selected by the King as head master he had been for eleven years in a similar position at Winchester, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that his success at Winchester, and the desire of Henry that his new College should be a worthy daughter of Wykeham's foundation, largely influenced his choice. Waynflete was not Head Master for long, for he was in 1443 promoted to the provostship. It has been said in most histories of the College that Waynflete, when transplanted from Winchester, was accompanied by five Fellows and thirty-five Scholars of Winchester; but whatever may be the case as to the Fellows, it seems clear that the number of Scholars who thus migrated has been grossly exaggerated. The list of Scholars of Winchester, unlike unfortunately that of the Scholars of Eton, is complete from the foundation, and the names of six boys only are noted in the Register as having gone to Eton in 1443. Their names and the dates of their election to Winchester were as follows:—John Langporte, 1432; Robert Dommetge, 1435; Richard Cove, 1436; John Payn, 1438; John Mustard, 1438; Richard Roche, 1439. Some years later another boy—elected to Winchester in 1447, by name John Hendy—also came over to Eton. Of these the first three appear to have been elected immediately to King's, and Richard Roche, afterwards Prior of the London Charterhouse, in the following year.

This connection of Eton and Winchester was drawn still closer on Waynflete's promotion to the provostship. He was succeeded in the office of Head Master by William Westbury, a Wykehamist, who is always gratefully remembered by Etonians for the services which he rendered to the College, to which we shall have occasion to refer later on. And in 1444 the four foundations of Wykeham and Henry entered into an "Amicabilis Concordia," a sort of solemn league and covenant for mutual support and encouragement in any difficulties which the future might bring, and for a "mutua et perpetua caritas," a perpetual interchange of charity. Two prudent qualifications were introduced: first, that Winchester was not to act in opposition to the Bishop or Convent of Winchester; and second, that none of them should incur any great pecuniary liability on behalf of the other.

In 1887, when Winchester was celebrating the 500th anniversary of her foundation, the ancient friendship was renewed by an interchange of courtesies in the Latin tongue. The message sent from Eton was:—

Custodi,
Sociis, Magistris Informatori, Ostiario, Adjutoribus,
Scholaribus, Commensalibus,
Omnibus denique Wiccamicis,
Quingentesimo anno
ab Collegio Wintonensi fundato
Anniversarium diem celebrantibus,
fraternis animis
bona omnia ac fausta ominati
salutem plurimam mittunt
Praepositus,
Socii, Magistri Informator, Ostiarius, Adjutores,
Scholares Regii, Oppidani,
Etonenses.

A.D. VII. Kal. Apr. MDCCCLXXXVII.

THE FIRST HEADMASTER

FROM HOUBRAKEN'S ENGRAVING FROM THE PORTRAIT AT MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

To which the elder foundation replied :—

Praeposito,
Sociis, Magistris Informatori, Ostiario,
Adjutoribus, Scholaribus Regiis, Oppidanis
Etonensibus
Pro Gratulatione Opportunissimâ
Custos,
Socii, Magistri Informator, Ostiarius,
Adjutores, Scholares, Commensales
Wiccamici,
Diem Anniversarium
Anno Quingentesimo Collegii
B. M. Winton. Fundati
Celebrantes,
Gratias Fraterni Animi
Habent aguntque maximas
A.D. VII. Kal. Apriles
A.S. MDCCCLXXXVII.

Two very neat specimens of Latinity to be preserved in the archives of the respective Colleges.

Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who was uncle to Henry and one of the earliest supporters of his educational schemes, died on 11th April, 1447. By his will he left £1000 to each of Henry's Colleges, which was to be paid out of the moneys borrowed from him by the Crown. The loan had been made on the security of certain of the Crown jewels, which included a relic known as the "Tablet of Bourbon" of great value and sanctity, as it was said to contain portions of the true cross, of the blood of Christ, of the Virgin, of St. Nicholas, of St. Catherine, and of other saints. This jewel was bequeathed by the Cardinal to the King, but the King apparently regarded himself merely as a trustee for the College, to which it was presented.

The death of Cardinal Beaufort caused the advancement of Waynflete from the provostship to the vacant bishopric.

He was consecrated in the Collegiate Church in July, 1447, apparently with some pomp. The Warden of Winchester and others came for the ceremony, and presented the new bishop with a horse and the Eton scholars with 13s. 4d., the latter an example we recommend.

The day following John Clerc was chosen Provost, but he had only reigned four months when death overtook him, and his place was filled by William Westbury, the Head Master, whose tenure of the provostship is remarkable for the resistance which he offered to the attempt of Edward IV. to suppress the College altogether.

On January 1st, 1448, by letters patent under the Great Seal, Henry assigned arms to each of his Colleges; but it is curious that both had been previously using arms: Eton the same as those contained in this grant, King's arms somewhat different to those now assigned to it. Henry's grant to Eton may be seen in one of the glass cases in the library at Eton. "We assign, therefore," says the King, "for arms and ensigns of arms on a field sable three flowers of lilies argent, having in mind that the College now founded to endure for ages, whose perpetuity we would have signified by the stability of the sable colour, may bring forth the brightest flowers redolent in every kind of science to the honour and most devout worship of Almighty God and of the undefiled Virgin and glorious Mother, to whom as in other things, and most especially in this our foundation, we offer with burning mind hearty and most vehement devotion; to which besides that we may impart something of royal nobility, which may declare the work to be truly royal and famous, we have determined that parcels of the arms which belong to us of royal right in the kingdoms of England and France be placed on the chief of the shield, party per pale azure with a flower of France and gules with a lion passant or."

Perhaps we may illustrate this symbolism of the fourteenth

century by the thought of one of our Etonian poets of the nineteenth century.

"'What bears Etona on her shield?'
What her true son should be—
A valiant lion in the field,
At heart a fleur-de-lis.

"He shall go on in ruddy sheen
And lion-like oppose,
Foremost in brunt of battle seen,
And grappling with his foes.

"But ever at his heart of hearts
Stand thick the lily sheaves,
To cool his rage and heal his smarts
With their fair virgin leaves.

"'Tis his to conquer, to endure,
All taint of ill he shuns;
Still lion-hearted, lily-pure,
Be all Etona's sons."*

* *Dorica*, by the Rev. E. D. STONE.

CHAPTER II.

THE ETON BUILDINGS—PLANS OF THE FOUNDER AND THEIR MODIFICATIONS—THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

THE College buildings are the next thing that demand attention, and, as it seems the more convenient course to deal with their history continuously and not piecemeal, we shall in this and the succeeding chapter trace their history from the fifteenth century to the present day.

The whole subject of the ancient buildings and their relation to the plans and intentions of the Founder has been so carefully worked out by Mr. Clark in his and the late Professor Willis's *Architectural History of Cambridge,** that practically nothing remains to be done but to express, as concisely as may be, the results of his elaborate researches. The reader who is anxious to study the subject more closely and the data on which Mr. Clark has based his conclusions, must be referred to the work itself.

The documentary materials for the history of the Eton buildings consist partly of the Building Accounts, which extend with some gaps from 1441–1460,† and succeeding them the Audit Rolls and Books, and partly of certain documents containing the King's wishes and directions. With regard to the Building Accounts it is impossible to do better than quote Mr. Clark's description of them.‡

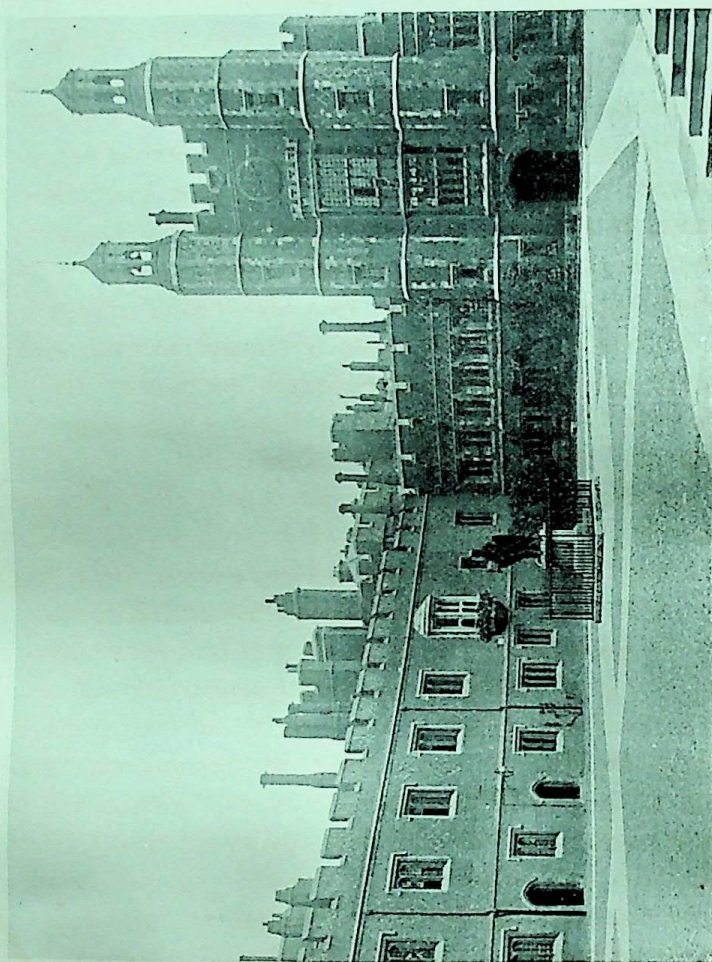
* Vol. i. pp. 313 *et seq.*
† See WILLIS and CLARK, vol. i. App. I. B.
‡ WILLIS and CLARK, vol i. p. 381.

"Not only is the series unusually complete, but the documents themselves have been prepared with great minuteness, entering into full particulars of the cost of each article, the place whence it came, and occasionally the use for which it was intended; although, as is so frequently the case with this class of document, the point on which we desire the fullest information is that in which they most often fail us. Besides the final account, or *Computus*, handed in by the clerk of the works, there are several books containing the items (*Particule computi*), out of which the totals in the former account are composed; others containing lists of the workmen, and the wages they received week by week (*Jornale* or *Particule Vadiorum et Stipendiorum*). We shall find these latter most useful in indicating the nature of the work, which the former frequently omit. These accounts are so interesting that they well deserve to be printed in full." Some of them are to be seen exhibited in the glass cases in the library, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Clark's wish for their being printed may some day be fulfilled.

To make the story of the buildings fairly intelligible it is necessary to depart from the strict chronological order, and start with the documents which embody the King's wishes. The building operations at Eton were begun in 1441, but the most important of these documents, viz., "The Will of King Henry the Sixth," was not drawn up till 12th March, 1447–8. The "Will" is not the King's last Will and Testament, but is an Indenture in three parts, one of which is preserved at Eton, another at King's, and the third was no doubt retained by Henry himself. It is practically a declaration of the trusts on which certain archbishops, bishops, nobles, and others, who had been, as it is therein recited, enfeoffed by the King of certain castles, lands, and other property belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster of the yearly value of £3395 11s. 7d., were

to hold the said property. The trusts were to pay £1000 a year to the Provosts of each of the King's foundations for twenty years, or until the buildings were finished; and the document then proceeds to set forth with great minuteness the plans and dimensions of the buildings for the two colleges, beginning with Eton.

Besides this document there are at Eton four other documents relating to the King's intentions in this matter. The first three of these, which are bound together in one cover of contemporary date, constitute a first draft of the Will with this exception, that following the second document is an estimate of the materials, workmen, and money required during the 26th and 27th years of the King's reign. But there is this curious fact, that in the first two documents which relate to the Chapel the principal dimensions have been struck out in a different ink, and larger dimensions substituted. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte believes that these alterations, which constitute a second plan, were made by the King's own hand; but however that may be, this second plan was never carried out, for Henry appears not to have been satisfied with the magnificence of the proposed Church, and a still more stately pile was resolved upon. In January, 1449, the King sent Roger Keys, the master of the works at Eton, to Salisbury and Winchester to take measurements of their famous Churches,* and some weeks later Keys took up a plan to London to submit to the King. This plan was probably that set out in the fourth of the documents before alluded to. This document, which is called "the Kynge's owne avyse," is quite separate from the three others and undated, but no doubt contains the King's final plans. Now the dimensions and design of the choir of the Church here directed correspond almost exactly with the Chapel as

* Keys was absent nine days with four horses and three servants, and his expenses were 14s. 4½d. *Keys' Account*, 1448–9. WILLIS and CLARK, vol. i. p. 398.

SCHOOL YARD

WITH PART OF LONG CHAMBER AND LUPTON S TOWER

it actually exists. If the whole of the design had been carried out, in place of the present ante-Chapel, we should have had a magnificent nave and aisles that would have reached right across the road into Keate's Lane, and in size would have eclipsed nearly every existing Church in England; and there would have been no necessity to build the Lower Chapel, as was done a few years ago. Of the other buildings, only the Hall,* Pantry, and Kitchen occupy the positions and dimensions intended for them by Henry. If his plan had been carried out there would have been a large quadrangle occupying the site of the present cloister quadrangle, but considerably larger. The Hall would have been on the south side of this, opposite the main entrance gate. The eastern side would have been where the eastern side of the present cloister quadrangle is, but it would have extended as far as the corner of the wall of the Fellows' Garden in the Playing Fields. The western side would have occupied the place of the Collegers' New Buildings if prolonged across School Yard, where it would have met the Provost's lodging, which formed part of the south side, continuing from the western end of the Hall. The northern side would have consisted of a great gateway with tower, which was to contain two rooms, one for relics, plate, and jewels, and the other for muniments, flanked on either side by schoolroom and chambers. School Yard and part of Weston's Yard would have been occupied by a quadrangular cloister, with a long strip of garden between it and the Chapel; and there would have been offices, storerooms, and so on, besides accommodation for the almsmen. In *Willis and Clark*, vol. iv., will be found a plan, drawn out to Henry's design, which is well worth the attention of the curious. It is to be noted that at the time when the Will was drawn up a great part of

* The only difference seems to be that the Hall, as delineated in the Will, had another bay window opposite to the present one, and a porch with a tower over it; probably to contain a bell like that at Merton College, Oxford.

the buildings had already been erected; for not only does this appear from various entries in the Building Accounts, but also in the estimate of expenses for the year 1448-9, before alluded to, it is estimated that £40 only are required to complete the quadrangle. The Hall had been finished apparently just about this time, for in 1448-9 it appears from the Audit Roll that a high table was purchased, and in the succeeding year "storied glass" and glass "flourished with roses and lilies and certain arms" was inserted in the windows. Further, with regard to the Chapel, the dimensions of which as given in this estimate are the same as those of the Will, it is plain, as Mr. Clark points out, that it must have been far advanced, for not only were twelve carpenters and twelve plumbers to be employed on the roof during the year, but carpenters and carvers were to be set to work upon the stalls; and, as we know from Keys' account for 1449-50, the stalls were commenced and probably nearly finished, for candles for the use of the carpenters engaged on them were bought on December 6th, 1449, and rather later "howndfissch skyn' (that is, the rough skin of the dog fish) to polish them. The general conclusion seems to be that, when the Will was made, Henry intended to pull down the Chapel and many other of the buildings that had already been erected, and rebuild them in a more magnificent manner. Whether this design was in part postponed, or tacitly abandoned, we cannot be sure, but at all events nothing but the Chapel seems to have been demolished, and the other buildings were allowed to remain. The general result at which Mr. Clark has arrived with regard to these various buildings may be given in his own words. With regard to the Chapel, he says that he is led to the conclusion "that the King caused the nearly complete building to be pulled down, and commenced the erection of a new one on an enlarged scale, of which, however, he did not live long enough to complete more than the choir."

Of the cloister quadrangle, he says, "The conclusion to which the analysis of the accounts and the examination of the existing buildings leads us is, that the north and east sides of the quadrangle were built between 1443-48, and the Hall between 1443-50; in other words, that the quadrangle was set out of its present size and arrangement during the lifetime of the Founder, and, in fact, was approaching completion at the very time he signed the Will, which prescribed a totally different arrangement for it. A further difficulty is afforded by the Hall, which, as it is of the exact size as directed in the Will, proves that the arrangements therein contained must have been in contemplation for some years. It may be suggested, in explanation, that when the quadrangle was begun, in 1443, the King had not matured his plan for the whole College, and that the Hall, if commenced, would have been in accordance with an earlier scheme, of which the present cloister is a portion. The present design for the Hall was probably settled in November, 1446, when the clerk of the works went to London to consult the Marquis of Suffolk about it (*super facturam Aule*); and it was subsequently carried out in accordance with that design, which was inserted in the Will, together with a new scheme for the whole College. This, we may conjecture, it was then intended to carry out, the buildings which now exist being pulled down to make way for it, just as the walls of the Church were pulled down when the larger plan was decided upon."

The Founder was especially anxious to render his College wholesome by being protected from all liability to floods and by a proper drainage system, and it is worth noting what steps he took or contemplated in this respect. In the Will is contained an elaborate system for "enhauncyng" or raising the ground over the entire site of the College to heights varying from three to ten feet,* a scheme which was

* WILLIS and CLARK, vol. i. p. 363, and fig. 14.

never carried out, except so far as the level of the Chapel floor is concerned, and a ditch forty feet wide was to be dug from Baldwyn's Bridge (now known as Barnes Pool Bridge) to the river, and an embankment was to be made on the College side of it.

Such was to be the protection against floods, while for drainage a sewer was carried all round the College, passing under the small external towers of the cloister court, which shows the use for which they were intended. This sewer was cleansed by a periodical discharge of water from Barnes Pool, which rushed round the sewer and so into the Thames. It appears to have been constructed at least as early as 1468-9, for an entry in the Audit Roll of that year relates to the cleansing of "the subterranean vault," no doubt this sewer.

The ditch from Barnes Pool until recent times still existed, passing under the kitchen and across the Fellows' Garden, making Fellows' Eyot, which is now a peninsula, into an island. Mr. Clark relates that on the 11th December, 1822, a boy named Edward Luke Booker was carried by the stream under the kitchen and drowned; since then the stream has been arched over and carried straight into the Thames. The appearance of the Kitchen before this was done is shown by Mr. Clark in a wood-cut, from a drawing of Paul Sandby.

Let us come now to the Chapel as it exists at present. It consists of choir and ante-Chapel. The choir, as we have seen above, represents the choir of the Church ultimately determined on by Henry, but never completed; it measures internally 150 feet in length by 40 feet in breadth. On each side there are nine immense buttresses, of which the westernmost would have formed part of the eastern wall of the nave. The floor is raised about thirteen feet above the level of the School Yard. Between each buttress there is a window of five lights, divided in half by a transom, and at the east end

a window of nine lights, with a remarkably ugly arch of irregular curve. To see this irregularity to the full it should be looked at from the outside. The probable explanation of it is furnished by Mr. Clark, who supposes that owing to the difficulties with which the work was carried on during the last ten years of the Founder's reign, the stones that had been prepared, or actually used, for the Church erected between 1441 and 1448 were used again, and that the stones of this eastern window were intended for the arch of smaller span of the first building.

Mr. Clark finds important evidence of the dates of the different portions of the Chapel from an examination of the different building stones used in its construction as compared with what we know from the Building Accounts of the purchases made. It will suffice to say that generally speaking the lowest stages are of an oolite from Teynton, in Oxfordshire; that up to the sill of the windows Magnesian limestone, from Hudleston, in Yorkshire, is used; and above that Kentish rag, with occasional portions of the others. This follows generally the directions on the point in "the King's own avyse."

The general result of Mr. Clark's investigation as to the choir is, that it was begun about 1448 as the choir of a larger building; that the walls, at any rate at the east end, were raised to their present height before the death of King Henry VI., the east window being ready for the iron work in 1458–59.

This date brings us close to the triumph of the Yorkists and Edward IV. Eton as a Lancastrian foundation suffered severely, as we shall show more particularly later on.

Edward proposed to unite it to St. George's, Windsor, and procured a bull from Pius II., dated 13th November 1463, sanctioning this scheme. He further took away a great part of the College estates, and even of its movable property, and it was not till the ninth or tenth year of his reign that

partial restoration was made. The result was that its income, which had once amounted to £1500, only averaged £384 between 1466 and 1476; and further, of course, the annual grant of £1000 for the building fund out of the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster had ceased. Accordingly in their extremity the College had recourse to that noble-hearted and generous man, William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester. Though Waynflete was at this very time occupied with his own foundation of Magdalen College Oxford, yet he responded to the call, and it is to him that the completion of the Collegiate Church by the building of the ante-Chapel is due.

Building seems to have been recommenced about 1469, for in that year occur several entries in the Audit Rolls of disbursements for expenses of journeys of the Provost to Waynflete, "for beginning the work at the Church," "for procuring money for the works at the Church," and the like.

It was impossible, as things were then, to carry out the Founder's design for a nave and aisles, and Waynflete contented himself with building the ante-Chapel and fitting up the interior. The work went on but slowly. In 1472 Edward was sufficiently gracious to address an order to the Constable of Windsor Castle, the clerk of the works, and other officials, allowing chalk and flint to be dug in Windsor Park. In 1475-6 we hear of stone being brought from Reigate, and of the glazier coming to take measurements of the east and other windows. On the 15th August, 1475, Waynflete contracted* with a carver at Southwark, named Walter Nicholl, to take down the rood-loft, stalls, and desks in the old parish Church, and erect a new rood-loft in the Chapel. The work was to be done before the Feast of the Assumption in 1477. This rood-loft was situated where the present organ-screen now is. Doubtless the chancel arch and

* The original contract is printed in WILLIS and CLARK, vol. i. App. I. C.

wall with the window above the arch are Waynflete's work, for when the Chapel restoration was going on, fifty years ago, traces were found of the lofty arch which was to separate the nave and choir. Probably little or nothing of the ante-Chapel was built till 1479, for in that year Waynflete contracted for a supply of Headington stone to be used at Eton and Magdalen College, and the ante-Chapel is the only place at Eton where it is used. This stone, which is a by-word among Oxford Colleges for its bad lasting qualities, caused the ante-Chapel down to 1877 to appear the most ancient of all the Eton buildings; but in that year the refacing of the whole with Bath stone was accomplished, and the Headington stone is no longer visible. Unfortunately there are no Building Accounts after the death of Henry VI., and several of the Audit Rolls are missing; but it seems probable from the mention of the south door in a Will of 20th August, 1479, that the stonework had made some progress. Waynflete bought lead in Derbyshire in 1482, which may have been for the roof of the ante-Chapel, though the contract relating to it is preserved among the Magdalen College muniments.

Waynflete having done so much for the College, it was only right that there should be some memorial of him at Eton, and when in 1891 the Etonians of Sussex wished to commemorate the 450th anniversary of the foundation of the College, it was felt that their generosity could not express itself better than in the statue of the Bishop in ornate canopy that now beautifies the blank outer west wall of the ante-Chapel. Sir Arthur Blomfield and Mr. Nicholls are jointly responsible for the work.

The Eton Audit Roll of 1479–80 mentions the purchase of no materials except timber, but various fittings and articles of ornament are mentioned as being paid for, which looks as if the fabric was actually or nearly completed. The choir-stalls erected by Waynflete, unlike the present ones, were

without canopies, and the large blank space of wall between the top of the woodwork and the windows would have looked very bare without some adornment, and in consequence this space was adorned with two rows of paintings of figure subjects of the greatest interest and beauty. In the anti-Roman iconoclasm of 1560 the College barber was paid six-and-eightpence for "wypinge oute" (probably with whitewash) "the imagery worke uppon the walles in the Churche," and in 1700 the panelling then erected concealed all traces so effectually that the existence of the paintings was quite forgotten until 1847, when the removal of the panelling disclosed them to view. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte thus describes them *: "There was originally a double row of paintings on the north and south walls of the choir, each row being divided longitudinally into seventeen compartments, alternately wide and narrow. The former contained historical compositions, the latter single figures of Saints, represented as standing in canopied niches. Most of these Saints may be identified by their emblems. Under each of the large compartments there was a Latin inscription, explaining the subject of the picture and giving a reference to the book whence its story was derived. The works most frequently quoted were the *Legenda Sanctorum* and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, one of the earliest productions of the printing press, which had already gone through three editions before 1479. . . . The whole series was intended to exemplify the gracious protection afforded by the Blessed Virgin, the patroness of the College, to her votaries in all ages and countries."

Most unfortunately in the restorations of 1847 nearly the whole of the upper row of these paintings was destroyed, and what was left is concealed behind the present woodwork. A small portion at the westernmost end on the south side is all that can now be seen.

* Page 84.

From the Audit Rolls we learn that these pictures were begun in 1479–80 and finished in 1487–88. The entries relate to purchases of oil, colours, and other materials, and give us the name of the painter, William Baker, who was employed in the latter year.

Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte is of opinion that the work was done by or under the direction of Flemish artists, and suggests that William Baker was responsible only for the upper row of paintings, which, he says, were in design and execution very inferior to those immediately above the stalls. At all events, there seems no historical or critical foundation for Mr. Street's opinion that the paintings were executed by Florentine artists. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte has reproduced some of the beautiful drawings made from the pictures by Mr. R. H. Essex, an artist employed by Dr. Hawtrey; these drawings are preserved in the Library at Eton. There is also a series of lithographs executed from other drawings by Miss Georgina, Miss Eleanor, and Miss Charlotte Cust, which supplement Mr. Essex's in some particulars.

On the north side of the Chapel there is a small chantry between two of the buttresses. This is known as Lupton's Chapel, and is the work of Roger Lupton, who became Provost in 1502. His arms will be seen in one of the bosses of the groined roof; and in the spandrils of the door of the stone-screen, which separates the chantry from the rest of the Chapel, will be seen on one side the initial of his Christian name, on the other a rebus of his surname, L U P on a tun. The exact date of erection is unknown, probably it was before 1515, in which year a charge for removing a spout on the new Chapel appears in the Audit Book. Provost Lupton was buried in his Chapel, and his monumental brass will be seen there representing him in the mantle of the Garter with the cross of St. George on the shoulder, which was then worn by the Canons of Windsor.

The rood-loft erected by Waynflete disappeared as super-

stitious in 1570, following therein the fate of images, altars, and the paintings before mentioned, which had already been got rid of.

In 1625 Thomas Weaver, one of the Fellows, presented a great deal of woodwork to the Chapel in the shape of seats, pews, desks, and so on. The wooden forms that stand in the ante-Chapel are probably the "strong Formes to stand in y[e] Iles of y[e] Church for the Townemen to sitt on," which it is recorded that Weaver presented. The same donor gave to King's College Chapel the carved royal arms that are at the back of the stalls.

In 1624–25 the stone stairs at the south end of the ante-Chapel were built, replacing the former wooden ones, and in 1694–95 the stairs leading to the north door from the School Yard were rebuilt. In Hollar's print of 1672 there is seen a lean-to roof, which, if it covered the stairs, is drawn proportionately too low. It seems more probable that the draughtsmen made a mistake than that the door was made between 1671 and 1695.*

In 1699 and the two following years the Chapel assumed the appearance internally which it retained down to the restoration of 1842. In 1699 the Provost and Fellows issued an appeal for funds for "Beautifying and Enlarging" the choir, and thereupon the Chapel was wainscoted throughout, an organ-screen was erected (not where the present one stands, but opposite the second window from the west end), and a reredos, in the shape of a lofty classical baldachino adorned with urns, was set up, the pediment of which reached far above the sill of the east window. The general appearance of the Chapel after those alterations will be seen from the pictures in Ackermann's *History of Eton*, published in 1816. Some fragments of the organ-screen have now found repose in the South Kensington Museum.

The present arrangement and adornment of the interior

* See HORNBY'S *Walks Round About Eton and Eton Buildings*, p. 71.

for the most part dates from 1842–1852. The first proceeding was the removal of the reredos and the erection of altar, altar rails, and pulpit of stone, which, however, did not remain long, for in 1847 the present oak ones were substituted. Most unfortunately it was determined to place stained glass in the windows, and a beginning was made with the east window, which was paid for by subscriptions among the boys. There is a tradition that the figure of one apostle in the window was paid for by the mother of a boy in gratitude for his recovery from a surfeit of sausages; some add that it is that of St. John, who appears with the cup of poison, but the story sounds apocryphal. Mr. Arthur Duke Coleridge, in his *Eton in the Forties*, laments the odious duty thrust on him among others of collecting "window money," wrung from the pockets of anything but cheerful givers, a tax that continued long after the originators of the first idea had become bearded men, until the last ugly apostle had taken his place in the transparent failure. If only the promoters of this enterprise had been content to wait we might have had some windows of real artistic merit, but at that time the art of stained glass was only just reviving, and anything more garish and inharmonious in colour or poor in design it would be hard to find. In 1845 the old organ-loft was pulled down, and the west window, hitherto blocked, filled with stained glass. In 1847, on removing the old seats and panelling, the paintings before described were discovered in a fair state of preservation; but most unluckily, through some misapprehension of the clerk of the works, the upper row was almost entirely destroyed. The perverse Protestantism of Provost Hodgson insisted that the remainder of the paintings were not fit to be seen in an English Church, and they are now again invisible. The canopies of the stalls were erected mostly in memory of different old Etonians, whose arms, with recording inscriptions, will be seen on the brass plates. Somewhat

unnecessarily the old black and white marble pavement was taken up and plain flagstones substituted, except within the altar rails, where there is the worse substitution of encaustic tiles. The organ was tried in various places, and at last erected on an oak screen in its present position. The stone screen on which it now stands, designed by Mr. G. E. Street, was erected in 1882, as a memorial to the Etonians who fell in the Zulu, Afghan, and Boer wars of 1879, 1880, and 1881, and their coats of arms form a bright contrast of colour with the white stone.

In 1884 the organ was thoroughly overhauled and improved, and a new case erected; and it has since been again remodelled and elaborately decorated in colour at the expense of the late Vice-Provost.

The restoration of the ante-Chapel was begun in 1852. The central window of the west wall was filled with stained glass by some old Etonians in 1851; the northern window of these three is a memorial to Trevor Graham Farquhar, who died of a wound received at the battle of Aliwal in 1846, aged nineteen; while the southern one was the gift of Dr. Balston during his headmastership. The two windows in the north and south walls were filled by subscription in 1859 to the memory of the Etonians who fell during the Crimean war. Their names and arms, forty-seven in number, are painted on the walls beneath the windows.

In connection with the restoration and adornment of the Chapel the name of the late Vice-Provost, the Rev. John Wilder, should always be remembered. For fifty-three years Fellow of Eton, and till his death, in 1892, at the great age of ninety-one, a generous and life-long benefactor, he, besides contributing the munificent sum of £5000 to the restoration fund, further presented fourteen of the stained glass windows in the choir, and at his own expense decorated the reredos and east end, and also more recently the organ and case.

A recent gift to the Chapel from Mr. Henry Elford

Luxmoore, one of the Assistant Masters, is a beautiful piece of tapestry executed by William Morris, and designed by Sir E. Burne Jones. It is a replica of that in Exeter College Chapel, and represents the visit of the Magi.

In the Chapel also is hung the beautiful picture by Mr. G. F. Watts of "Sir Galahâd," a noble gift from the painter himself in the summer of 1897. It represents the type of chivalrous, devoted, and pure Christian manhood, and the reason of the gift is best displayed in the painter's own words: "I feel that art should be able to throw a side-light and stimulate reflection upon subjects where more direct enforcements might be, especially in youth, met with impatience and even resentment. I should like my picture to be illustrated by Chaucer's description of the young Squire. In generous and perhaps unthinking youth seeds of good and evil may be sowed by very unexpected and apparently small means." It was, we may say, in hope of helping to realize the prayer of an Etonian poet:—

> "Christ and His Mother, heavenly maid,
> Mary, in whose fair name was laid
> Eton's corner, bless our youth
> With truth and purity, mother of truth."

Before leaving the Chapel there are one or two other objects of interest worth calling attention to. The statue of the Founder was erected in 1799, the gift of Edward Betham, a Fellow, and the work of Bacon. The beautiful brass lectern, which dates from the fifteenth century, and much resembles a lectern in Merton College Chapel, narrowly escaped destruction at Puritan hands in 1650, in which year the College paid sixpence for its removal.

Other monuments particularly worth notice are, in Lupton's Chapel besides the brass of Provost Lupton before mentioned, that of Provost Bost, in a curious cope, and in the ante-Chapel the brass of Richard Grey (Lord Grey), in his armour as page of honour to Henry VIII. It may here be noted that

the restored coat of arms on Provost Bost's brass is incorrect, and also that in the window; the bulls' heads should be stags' heads. Lipscomb, in his *History of Bucks*, incorrectly represents the charges as maunches. There are, too, in the ante-Chapel now quite a large number of modern brasses, bearing touching witness to the sorrow of friends and relatives, both for young lives cut off in their early promise, and for older lives that have in their various ways given their labours for the welfare of the school.

The tomb of Provost Murray, on the northern wall within the altar rails, and on the southern side the tomb of Provost Hawtrey, and the cenotaph of Archdeacon Balston also deserve to be looked at. The monument of the Marquis of Wellesley, with the well-known lines written by himself, is over the north door.

CHAPTER III.

THE BUILDINGS CONTINUED—THE UPPER SCHOOL—LONG CHAMBER AND LOWER SCHOOL—LUPTON'S WORK—THE CLOISTER QUADRANGLE—THE HALL AND KITCHEN—THE LIBRARY AND ITS CONTENTS—NEW BUILDINGS AND NEW SCHOOLS.

THE quadrangle, of which the Chapel forms the south side, is known as School Yard. The main entrance is on the west side, under Upper School. This building, which consists of a long schoolroom on the upper floor, and of smaller rooms and a colonnade on the ground floor, was begun in 1689 and completed at the beginning of 1691, up to which time, including the cost of pulling down the previous building, it had cost the sum of £2286 9s. 1½d., most of which was raised by subscription. It replaced another building of similar design, but with the addition of somewhat greater height and an elaborate balustrade to the roof, and the substitution of stout piers with arches for the slender pillars and imperfectly supported lintels of the earlier construction.

The later building was doubtless erected on the foundations of the earlier, and the window frames were plainly used over again, and without doubt much of the materials. The defective construction of the original building, which had rendered it positively dangerous, was the reason for its being pulled down. It had been erected by Provost Allestree at his own expense between 1665 and 1672. The eastern side

is shown in Hollar's engraving in the 1673 edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and the western side of the building is represented in Loggan's engraving of Eton, taken about 1688.

Before the erection of Allestree's Upper School the quadrangle had been closed in by a brick wall, with entrance in the middle. This is represented in the small picture of Eton on the engraved title of Sir Henry Savile's edition of *St. Chrysostom*, published in 1613, and in the coloured picture of the College on his monument in the chapel of Merton College, Oxford.

Access to the Upper School is gained by a staircase at either end; that at the northern, through the room where the Head Master takes his Division, which in former days was known as the Library, and is now an object of interest to visitors as the home of the flogging block and birch. In the Upper School itself still exist certain of the original benches, and the four desks from which Dr. Keate and his three Assistants tried to keep order among a mob of unruly boys.

The panelling all round the room is covered with the names of boys who have received their earlier education here. Some of them have no doubt been cut by the hands of the owners of the names, but the majority were probably done, as they are at the present day, by a professional for a fee from boys as they leave. Except for an occasional name to join a family group no more names are cut in Upper School, but those of the Head Master's Division in his room, and those of others on the panelling round the stairs leading up to that room. Some of these names are of considerable interest: the name of Fox in huge letters will be seen under his bust; Mr. Gladstone's, and that of others of his family, on the left-hand door leading to the Head Master's room; the late Lord Iddesleigh's on the right-hand door; Lord Rosebery's is on the panelling at the top of the stairs at the northern end. That of Shelley, cut apparently by himself, is shown in the illustration.

PANELS OF UPPER SCHOOL SHEWING SHELLEY'S NAME

The busts which adorn the walls, with the exception of those of George III., William IV., and the Queen and Prince Consort, are of famous Etonians. The last two that have been placed there are that of Shelley, by Story, which is due chiefly to the exertions of Mr. Vaughan, one of the Assistant Masters, and that of Mr. Gladstone, a replica of a bust by Boehm.

On the north side of the School Yard runs the ancient brick building, containing Lower School and other rooms on the ground-floor, and what was formerly the dormitory known as Long Chamber above. With the exception of a small portion of modern walling at the eastern end connecting it with the western side of the cloister quadrangle, and enclosing a small quadrangle of offices, this range is probably of fifteenth-century work, but the absence of distinct reference in the earlier accounts makes it impossible to be absolutely certain on the point. The register of Wells* quoted before, as to the consecration of Bishop Bekynton, relates that the Bishop gave a banquet in the "new buildings of the College on the north," which, as the writer apparently is speaking of the points of the compass in relation to the Chapel, looks as if this block was meant. Mr. Clark notes that, in the Audit Roll for 1469–70, there is a payment for twelve beds for the boys' chamber, which is shown to mean Long Chamber by a reference to it in connection with the sewer in the next year. On the other hand, it must be noted that the Audit Roll for 1506–7 refers to the "new chamber of the boys of the College," and that for 1514–15 to the payment of an old debt incurred at the time of the building of the new school. Further, while the windows on the northern side on the lower floor resemble those of the earlier part of the cloister quadrangle, viz., the north and east sides, those that look into School Yard on the lower floor and the upper floor windows on both sides resemble more the

* Page 10.

windows in Lupton's work on the western side of the cloister quadrangle. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte hazards a theory that the original dormitory and schoolroom were on the western side of the cloister, and that Lupton erected the present buildings on that side in substitution for them, and that the range of buildings in question was built by a private benefactor, and hence no mention of it in the accounts. On the other hand, the two references to the new chamber hardly seem to make any assumption of the kind necessary; the new wing erected for the Collegers in Weston's Yard is now after fifty years still known as New Buildings, and will apparently always be so, and all it is necessary to suppose is that, as we know was the case, there was other accommodation for the scholars at the beginning of things.

Long Chamber extended the whole length of the upper floor in this block, except for two rooms cut off at either end, the one for the Head Master at the western, and that for the Usher at the eastern. The Head Master's Chamber is now a schoolroom, the Usher's forms part of the rooms allotted to the Master in College, one of the Assistant Masters who, since the great reforms of fifty years ago, has had the care of the scholars on the foundation. Long Chamber also disappeared at the same time in its ancient form of one huge dormitory, and is now divided into separate rooms with the exception of a small portion, the abode of the fifteen junior Collegers. This small portion, still known as Chamber, is divided by partitions reaching half-way to the ceiling into what are called "stalls," but at many schools are known as cubicles. Of life in Long Chamber we shall have occasion to say somewhat later on.

The ground-floor of this block is divided in two by a passage leading from School Yard into Weston's Yard.* On the western side is the Lower School, for over two hundred

* So called from Dr. Stephen Weston, see p. 47, but formerly known officially as the Stable Yard.

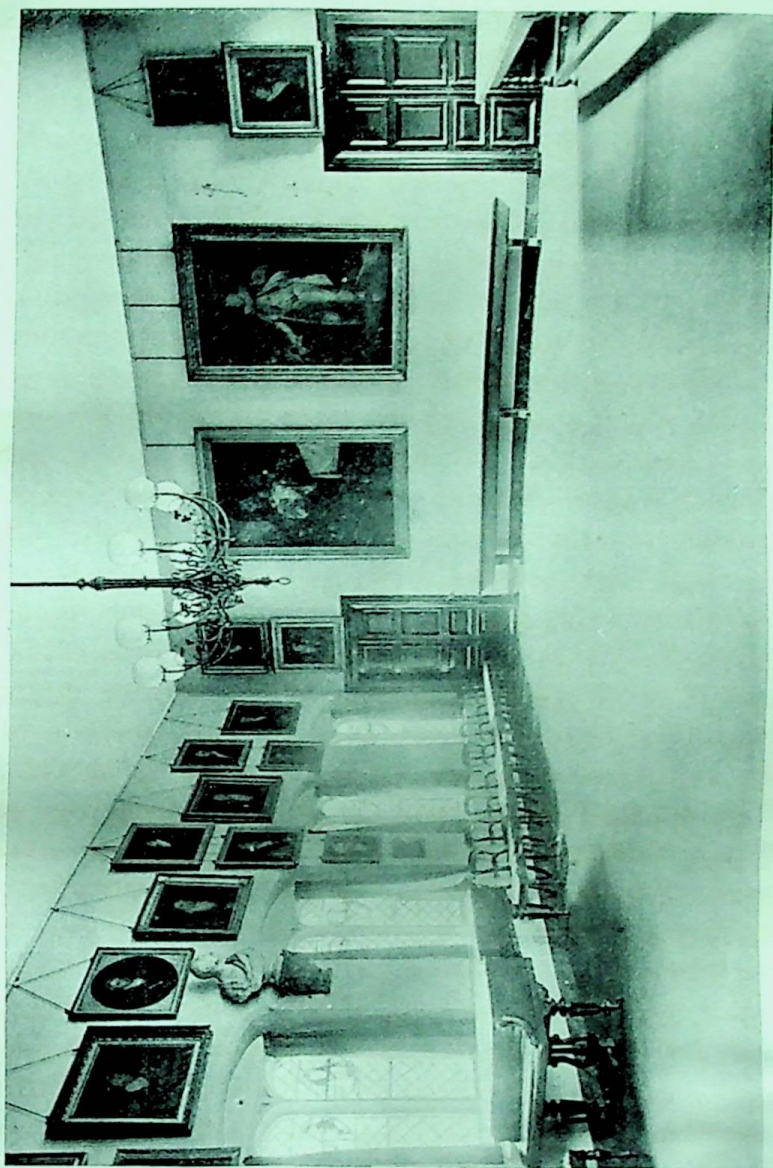
years the only schoolroom. It is now cut into three rooms by modern partitions, but is otherwise probably unaltered in appearance since the time of Sir Henry Wotton, Provost from 1624–39, who is said, by Walton, to have set up the row of oaken pillars. The names cut on the shutters and pillars here and on the panelling outside are, for the most part, those of the boys elected annually from Eton to King's. The earliest name that has been found is that of Batte (given as Thomas Bates in the *Alumni Etonenses*), in 1578, which is cut on the upper left-hand shutter of the first window, from the west end, on the north side. Samuel Pepys, who visited the College in 1665, mentions this custom "of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the window when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Provost and Fellow that hath his name in the window yet standing." After 1645, the shutters being filled, the names were cut on the pillars, then the panels of the passage outside were gradually absorbed, and at the present day the names are to be found on the floor above, in the passage outside the rooms of the Master in College, once part of Long Chamber.

On the other side of the passage, opposite Lower School, are two other schoolrooms, and rooms belonging to the Master in College and the Provost's Lodge. Before 1845 part of this, known as Lower Chamber and Carter's Chambers, supplemented the accommodation of Long Chamber; one of the rooms many old Collegers will remember as "Chamber Tea-room," which, when the additional buildings were erected, in 1887, migrated to New Buildings.

Under the windows of the first floor, on the School Yard side, will be noticed a line of lead, and in 1876 a line of foundation was discovered, ten feet from the wall, which looks as if the erection of a cloister, as the Founder had desired, had been in contemplation; and, in confirmation of this supposition, Mr. Clark remarks that the labels over

the doors on this side are more delicate than on the other, as if not originally intended to stand the weather.

The bronze statue of the Founder, which stands in the centre of the School Yard, is the work of Francis Bird, and was erected in 1719 at the cost of Provost Godolphin, the brother of Lord Godolphin, the well-known statesman.

Coming now to the Cloister quadrangle, it is entered by a gateway known as Lupton's Tower, which, with the whole of this side of the quadrangle, is the work of Provost Lupton, and was erected between 1517-20. With the exception of certain rooms on the ground-floor, this western side forms part of the Provost's Lodge. Over the archway is the room known as Election Chamber, and to the north of it Election Hall, while on the south side are the rooms appropriated to the Provost of King's. Election Hall is identified by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte with the Library built in 1517, but Mr. Clark would place this in Election Chamber; it is difficult to resist the former's arguments, that the shape of Election Hall resembles that of the usual mediæval library, and that if this had been originally appropriated to the Provost and not Election Chamber, the Provost's other rooms, which without doubt were on the southern side, westward of the College Hall, would be separated from his Hall by a room which did not belong to him, which seems unlikely. Moreover, the remains of ancient glass in the windows of Election Hall appear to refer to the various faculties, the study of which could be pursued in the Library. Entering the Cloisters we find on the southern side the Hall, with the Kitchen, Bakehouse, and Brewhouse behind, while above the Cloisters on this side is the Library, erected in 1726. The other two sides originally consisted of ranges of chambers, entered on the ground-floor from the cloister, on the first floor from a gallery, which still extends round the eastern and northern side, and before the Library was built extended round the western also. This gallery is now entered either from the staircase at the north-west

ELECTION HALL

corner of the Cloisters, or from a staircase opposite the Hall doorway, beside the buttery. Originally access was gained by the four angle turrets at the inner angles, which contain spiral stone staircases, now disused.

In earlier times other members of the College besides the Fellows had chambers in the Cloisters. As late as 1760 chambers were appropriated for the use of the Conducts.* Roger Huggett, who was appointed Conduct in 1737, and to whose MS. collections, now in the British Museum, all historians of Eton have been much indebted, relates that he took over the chambers of his predecessor, Humphrey Parry, paying him for the paper with which their walls were hung. The door to these chambers was, he says, the third from the east side of the College and from the south end thereof. They were divided into two apartments; the bed-place opposite the door was in length towards the garden 14 ft. 6 in., and in breadth 8 ft. 6 in. The other room was in length, that is, from the Cloisters to the garden, 17 ft. 6 in., and in breadth, that is, along by the Cloisters, 16 ft., both rooms being 12 ft. 6 in. in height. Huggett did not live in them himself, but let them to another of the Fellows whose house adjoined, whom he discovered one day in 1762, when he was walking through the Cloisters and the door was open, to have been encroaching, and thereupon he proceeded to fight a battle with the trespasser on behalf of himself and his successors with a spirit of combativeness that he showed on other occasions.

On one of the doors in the gallery may be seen incised the College swanmark, and Mr. Clark suggests that this was the chamber of the College swanherd; but this seems very doubtful, for apart from the fact that even if the College did keep a swanherd he was not a member of the College, the mark, though used as a swanmark, was not originally

* The name by which the two Chaplains are known, because they are, according to Statute XXIX., "conductitii," *i.e.*, hired.

reserved for that purpose, but, like the Government broad arrow, served to mark all College property.

In more recent times, when Fellows were married and modern requirements demanded greater house room, these ranges of chambers were converted into houses for them, and now, since nearly all the original Fellows have died, the Head Master and Vice-Provost inhabit houses in the Cloisters.

These buildings on the east and north of the Cloisters were without much doubt the earliest of the buildings to be taken in hand; they do not agree with the plan sketched in the Will, but as early as 1442–3 we meet with the term "quadrant of the College," and in 1443 a contract was entered into for building ten chambers and seven towers, probably the seven towers that still break the frontages of the east and north sides of the College. The Vice-Provost's chamber, though it is impossible to say where it was situated, was glazed in 1445–6, and, as we have already said, the estimate of 1447–8 computed that only £40—roughly, £480 at the present day—was required for completing the quadrangle. By alterations from time to time, and especially by those of the last century, the appearance of this part of the College has been a good deal altered. It was originally two storeys in height, but at the end of 1758, the surveyor of the College having reported that the roof was in urgent need of repair, the Provost and Fellows determined that "whereas the Chambers which are at present allotted for the Reception of the Members of the Society have been found by Experience to be very inconvenient for the Accommodation of their respective Families," they would add another storey. The work on the whole was well done so far as the exterior is concerned, though the modern sash windows, substituted for the old mullioned casements, are no doubt somewhat unsightly. The general appearance, however, is certainly harmonious, and probably few persons seeing the College from Romney Lock would surmise that the upper storey was 300

years later than the rest. Inside, however, on the Cloisters side the treatment is not so happy. For some reason, perhaps to increase reflected light, the upper storey was faced with stone, and the old brickwork below cased with Portland cement to make it harmonize; while, as Mr. Clark observes, the modern sash windows contrast badly with the old four-light windows of the gallery.

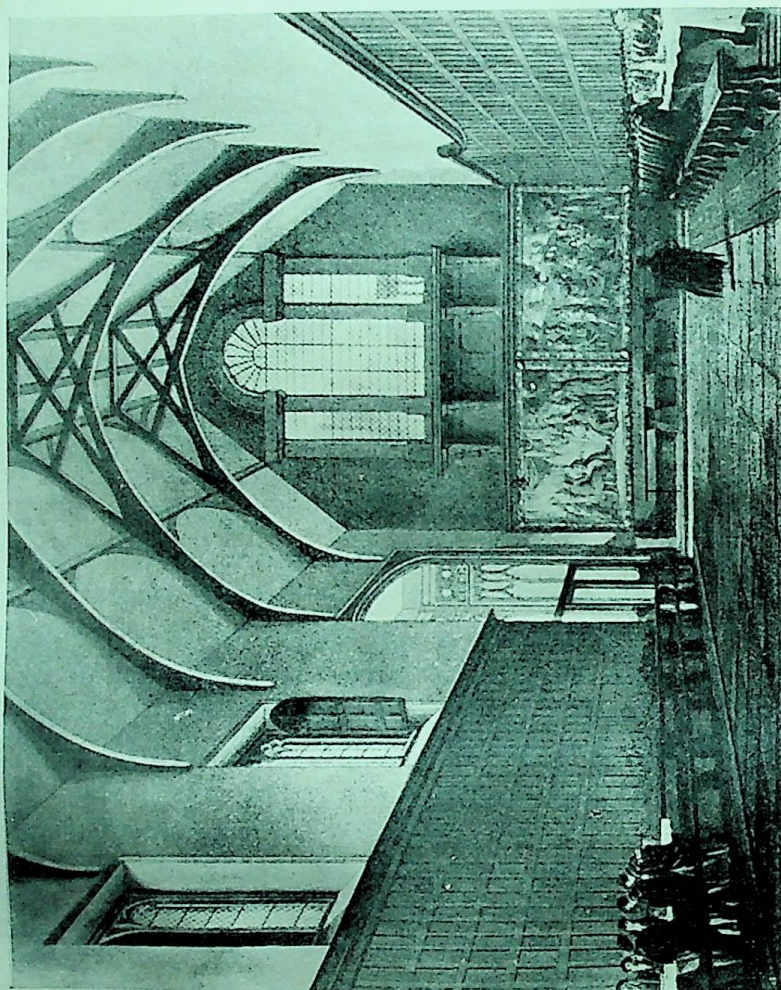
The Hall now claims our attention. It is raised upon a vaulted cellar, and follows the directions and dimensions in the Will, except that there is an oriel window on the south side only, and not, as the Will orders, on the north side also. It is built on the south side, which faces the brewhouse yard, of Kentish rag, and faced with Caen stone on the other. An examination of the south side shows that all the buttresses are cut off abruptly, and that the windows are cut off at half their intended height; what there is of them exactly resembles the lower half of the windows in the Fellows' Buildings. The arches over the windows have been finished in plaster work, and the upper part of the wall completed in brick.* Further, the three fire-places discovered behind the panelling in 1858 had never been used, and were without chimneys. If the east end be examined there will be seen the toothings still projecting from the wall, showing that it had been intended to build over the pantry.† Why this sudden alteration of plan took place it is impossible to say, for the building was completed in 1450, and it was not left unfinished, as the west side of the Cloisters and the Chapel were, owing to political events.

The panelling was put up in 1547. In 1690 a flight of stairs was erected, probably those now in use, which evidently are not original, from the fact that the mouldings of the arch above have been cut away for them.

* The brick parapets with stone chimneys are part of the work done in 1719-20, when the Renaissance windows in the gables were probably inserted. —WILLIS and CLARK, vol. i. p. 452.

† See the picture in WILLIS and CLARK, vol. i. p. 445.

In 1858 the Hall was thoroughly repaired and decorated, chiefly at the expense of the late Mr. Wilder, whose munificence in this regard is commemorated by a brass plate under the south-west window. A new roof was constructed, the elaborate screen behind the high table with the arms of the Provosts erected, the floor laid with tiles, and the panelling repaired. In the course of the work the three fireplaces were discovered and brought into use for the first time. Further, the hideous three-light Renaissance east and west windows, which may be seen represented in Ackermann's *History* and Radclyffe's *Memorials of Eton College*, were removed, and the present Perpendicular windows with stained glass substituted. It is to be regretted that the west window perpetuates the unfounded tradition that Henry VII. was educated at Eton. The small door at the upper end leads into the Provost's Lodge.

Three things further may be noticed by the curious visitor. On a panel at the north-east corner is the quaint, rudely-carved inscription—"Queen Elizabethe ad nos gave October x 2 loves in a mes 1596," and until the last few years the boys who sit at the table in this corner had a double allowance of bread given them at dinner. Along the top of the panelling on each side will be noticed a line of nails, from them in former times the so-called "Bacchus" verses were hung at Shrove-tide. These verses, originally in praise of "Bacchus," are referred to by William Malim in his *Consuetudinarium* in 1560, and though their subject had long ceased to be the god of wine and poets, their name remained till their abolition in this century. Samuel Pepys refers to the custom in 1665, and says that they were written on long rolls then, as they were to the last. These rolls, adorned with coloured ribbons, were suspended from the before-mentioned nails, each no doubt originally above its author's seat. A "Bacchus" of Richard Porson is now preserved in the Boys' Library; its theme is Cyrus exulting over captive Babylon.

THE COLLEGE HALL. 1821

SHEWING THE RENNAISSANCE WEST WINDOW NOW REMOVED AND THE TAPESTRY PURCHASED FROM THE BEQUEST OF ADAM ROBYNS IN 1613 AND BURNT IN 1875

The third thing to be called attention to is the iron desk at the upper end, near the oriel window. From this in former days, in accordance with Statute XVI., one of the scholars, deputed by the Head Master, read aloud during dinner the Bible, Lives of the Fathers, Sayings of the Doctors, or some other sacred writing. The Hall is now used for the dinner and supper of the Collegers, while the Master in College and usually one of the Conducts, sometimes the Provost or Head Master, dine at the High Table. The big dinner on Founder's Day and luncheon on the 4th of June take place here, as well as school concerts.

Opposite the Hall door is the Buttery; the two portraits that hang on the wall opposite the hatch are of two former College butlers. The one on the left, of the seventeenth century, is represented as giving a dole of bread and beer to strangers in the fashion still practised at St. Cross. The silver two-handled pot in his hand is still known as the "Strangers' Cup"; the other, of the beginning of this century, was named Vaughan, and is represented in the College livery of azure blue, now, alas! discarded by a utilitarian age, except for the watermen employed by the school. The College plate is kept in safes within. Among the more remarkable pieces are an extremely fine gilt chased rose-water dish and ewer of the date 1610, purchased out of a bequest from Adam Robyns, Fellow, who died in 1613; a salt cellar with arms for napkin, given by Nicholas Hobart in 1656, with the hall-mark for that year; a pair of fine Elizabethan Communion cups with the hall-mark of 1569; two Queen Anne rose-water ewers; and a beautiful covered tankard, chased with flowers, with the hall-mark for 1777.

The oldest piece of plate now in the possession of the College is a cocoanut cup, presented by John Edmonds, who was elected Fellow in 1491. What the vicissitudes of fortune of this cup have been it is impossible to say exactly; it was found not long ago by Mr. Warre-Cornish, the Vice-Provost,

in the Library. The nut is mounted in silver-gilt bands, which were once decorated with enamels.

It seems not unlikely that when Provost Steward joined Charles I. at the outbreak of the Civil War he took most of the College plate with him. Some of the older plate, however, must have gone before that, for Provost Day seems either to have taken some for his private use or alienated it, for the Audit Books contain several notices of the carriage of plate to London during his tenure of office; and one of the first acts of his successor, Sir Henry Savile, was to take proceedings against him for the recovery of a silver ewer belonging to the College, and valued at £30.

To read of the sixty-three silver spoons with gilt knobs, marked with the letters T. and B. on either side of an episcopal cross, presented by Bishop Bekynton; or of the silver ewer and basin bequeathed by John Argentine, Provost of King's and physician to Henry VIII., who died in 1507, is enough to make the antiquary's mouth water.

The Kitchen, access to which is obtained by the stairs descending on the farther side from the Cloisters, occupies the site intended by the Will. It is square in plan, with octagonal roof and lantern; it was extensively repaired in 1507–8, but since then has probably been little altered. Visitors here will be interested in the elaborate clockwork arrangement for roasting, which dates from the last century, and two relics of ancient manners in the shape of a "treen" platter and candlestick, formerly used by the Collegers in Hall. Westward of the Kitchen are the Brewhouse and Bakehouse; they date from 1714, but a fire in 1875 has caused some alteration in their present appearance. The College has since 1875 ceased to brew its own beer, and that article, and even the strong audit ale, is now supplied from Burton-on-Trent.

Entrance to the Library can be gained by the staircase leading to the gallery opposite the Hall door. The Will of

the Founder had provided for a Library in the East "pane," or walk of the Cloisters, 52 feet long and 24 feet wide, and in default the books belonging to the College were kept first in the vestry of the Chapel, then probably in Election Hall, then in a room under the east end of Long Chamber, now the Provost's kitchen; afterwards, when Loggan drew his view of the College in 1688, in the S.E. end of the Cloister gallery; and lastly they were transferred to the present building, which was completed in 1729 from the designs of one Rowland. It in no way harmonizes with the rest of the buildings, and the gallery on this side of the Cloisters was removed to make way for it. The Cloisters had been previously disfigured in 1725 by building dwarf walls and erecting iron rails between the piers.

Not many additions to the Library were made between the Provostship of Sir Henry Savile (1596–1622), when there was a good deal of activity, and the building of this Library, with the exception of a considerable number of MSS. presented by Sir Henry Wotton. These include some of interest and value, in particular a Xenophon, an Ovid known as the "Codex Langobardicus," a fine fifteenth-century Dante, and a fourteenth-century Life of St. Francis by Bartholomew of Pisa. Among other benefactors to the Library may be mentioned Edward Waddington, Bishop of Chichester and Fellow of Eton, who died in 1731, and left a large collection of political and theological tracts, sermons, ballads, and miscellanies relating to the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Several of the Aldines came from Lord Berkeley de Stratton, a good many Bibles from Nicholas Harding, who was Clerk to the House of Commons and married a sister of Lord Chancellor Camden, and over 200 Oriental MSS. from Edward Pote in 1788. Some of the choicest books came from Anthony Morris Storer, of Purley Park, a friend and contemporary at Eton of Charles Fox. Among Storer's books may par-

ticularly be noted three Caxtons, *Les Fais du Jason*, the only copy in England; *Tully of Old Age*, a beautiful copy; and *The History of Reynard the Fox*, the first edition; a large collection of classical *editiones principes*, the first three folios of Shakspere, and twenty-two of the quartos. Among other treasures in the Library should be noticed one of the finest copies in existence of the Mazarine Bible. It was presented by J. F. Fuller, M.P. for West Sussex, and is particularly interesting as being in the original binding of oaken boards, covered with stamped hogskin, and with its leaves quite uncut. There are some fine specimens of bindings, examples executed for Grolier, and by Eve, Derome, and Roger Payne. Another unique volume is the earliest English comedy, *Ralph Royster Doyster*, printed in 1566, and written by Nicholas Udall, Head Master of Eton. Curiously enough, the volume was presented by an old Etonian, the Rev. T. Briggs, in 1818, before it had been discovered who its author was or his connection with Eton.

There is also a fine MS. antiphon book of fifteenth century date, whose existence was discovered some years ago by Mr. Montagu R. James, an old Etonian, and librarian of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. Exactly what the history of it is is obscure, it was probably written specially for the Chapel during the provostship of Provost Bost. The names of most of the composers of the anthems are given, and of many of them something is known in musical history. It is written on vellum with illuminated capitals; some of them contain arms, those of Eton, of Magdalen College Oxford, of Edward the Confessor, of France and England quartered, of Provost Bost, and one shield which has baffled the heralds: Azure a chevron arg. between three lilies of the same, on a chief gules three owls arg. The book is bound in dark brown calf, with Tudor emblems impressed, and curiously enough the pattern is the same as that of the binding of the Black Book of the Exchequer. In the glass cases are to be

seen a considerable number of the more interesting of the College muniments, in particular the Charter of foundation, the Grant of arms, the award of Cardinal Bourchier, referred to hereafter, adorned with an illumination of the Assumption of the Virgin; many title deeds, with a fine series of royal seals, and some specimens of the Building Accounts. There are many very early deeds, with royal and conventual seals, that come, of course, from the archives of the alien priories, powers of attorney from the Abbot and Brethren abroad to Brother this and that collecting rents in England, and a number of Papal Bulls with the leaden *bullæ* attached.

Leaving the Cloisters by the door at the N.E. corner we come into the Playing Fields; the high brick wall on the left hand bounds the Provost's, that on the right the Fellows' Garden; following round to the left we enter Weston's Yard, so called from Stephen Weston, who was Usher or Lower Master from 1697 to 1707, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter. He occupied the picturesque gabled house at the right-hand corner of the gateway from the Playing Fields. A more interesting fact connected with this house is that it is the house where Shelley boarded for part of his time at Eton. On the west side of Weston's Yard, backing on the Slough road, is a pretty gabled house of great length, which has been occupied by successive Head Masters since the retirement of Keate till a few years ago. It was built between 1603–06, at the instigation of the Provost, Sir Henry Savile, and was at first used for the reception of the private printing press which he set up for his great edition of St. Chrysostom, and also for rooms for the Clerks and Commensals or Oppidans, and for storerooms and granaries.

The building in three stories on the east side of Weston's Yard, known as "New Buildings," a name showing little inventive power, was erected between 1844–46, chiefly by subscription, for the better accommodation of the Collegers.

It was further improved and enlarged in 1887, partly by additional buildings and partly by absorbing the School or Boys' Library, which had up till then been situated at the northern end. The Library was removed to the New Schools on the other side of the Slough Road. This Library, which contains a fair collection of books, has been always rather hampered for want of funds; and a generous old Etonian could do many worse things than follow the example of the late Mr. Alexander Macmillan and give towards its endowment, or of Major Myers and increase its collection. It contains a copy of the Florentine Homer, the gift of Provost Hawtrey, a picture by Livesay of the Montem procession, about 1790, with George III., and members of his family, giving "salt,"* and a few relics of interest.

Evidence of the great increase of the school and the necessity of more class-room accommodation is seen in this block, known as the New Schools, the main part of which was finished in 1863, and the remainder some years later; and this has been followed by the building of Science Schools, Chemical Laboratory, and Lecture-room down Keate's Lane; and more recently still a large quadrangle of Schools, Lecture Hall, and Museum, known as the Queen's Schools, and Lower Chapel. These last buildings form a quadrangle, with a sunk grass plot in the centre, that is entered by a Tudor gateway, containing a statue of the Queen in a niche. The schools are of red brick, with stone dressings, in a style similar to that of the New Schools. The Lower Chapel, built of Sutton and Weldon stone, which forms one side of the quadrangle, has many merits, though a critic might object that some of its details are copied and spoilt from the older Chapel; but the general effect internally is certainly good. It contains a fine organ; some beautiful woodwork, given in memory of Mr. H. G.

* See the reproduction, p. 263.

Wintle, formerly an assistant master; a reredos, designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield, and executed by Mr. Nicholls, the gift of an old Etonian, Mr. Leech; and some very good stained glass by Kempe, given for the most part in memory of old Etonians. The Schools were brought into use at Michaelmas, 1889, the Queen having laid a memorial stone in the previous May, and the Lower Chapel the succeeding year. It should be noted that the Lecture Hall was the gift of two old Etonians.

The house which Keate occupied is that now occupied by Mr. A. C. Ainger, at the corner of Keate's Lane and the Eton Wick Road. The red brick Georgian house at the south-east corner of Keate's Lane, opposite the ante-Chapel, was built by Mr. Prior, with whom Mary Wolstonecraft stayed in 1787, and found Eton society "an insupportable fatigue."

A few doors up the street is the school bookseller's shop. It was for several generations in the hands of the Pote family, one of whom, Joseph Pote, who died in 1787 at the age of eighty-four, was an antiquary of some note in his day. Subsequently it came through marriage into the hands of the Williams', the family of the publisher of Wilkes' famous paper, the *North Briton*, and it has now been for some fifteen or sixteen years in the hands of Mr. R. Ingalton Drake.

A few steps further is the house—now a boarding-house—that was the famous Christopher Inn. Entering beneath the archway the curious visitor will see the balustrades of the open galleries that once ran round the inn, but are now enclosed to form passages. The old sign and ironwork have been transferred to the modern Christopher, "up town." In the house, on the right of the yard, are the rooms of the Eton Society or "Pop," of which we shall have to speak more particularly later. This group of buildings is destined before very long to disappear, and so another familiar aspect of Eton will have changed.

E

CHAPTER IV.

OPENING OF THE SCHOOL—STATUTES AFFECTING BOYS—TROUBLES UNDER EDWARD IV.—PROVOST WESTBURY—WILLIAM PASTON, THE EARLIEST COMMENSAL, AND HIS LETTERS—WILLIAM HORMAN, HEAD MASTER.

WE must now go back to the early days of the College, and gather together what we can about it at that time. It is stated that the school was opened in 1442, and certainly in the original charter there are two Scholars mentioned by name,* but it seems very doubtful whether it really was opened till the succeeding year.

As we remarked above,† the story that when Waynflete gave up the headmastership of Winchester for that of Eton he brought with him thirty-five Scholars of Winchester, appears to be apocryphal. The six Scholars of Winchester who did migrate to Eton did so, according to the Winchester Register, in 1443, and three of them, John Langport, Robert Dommetge, and Richard Cove appear to have been elected to King's in the same year, and a fourth, Richard Roche, in 1444. However that may be, in 1443 Waynflete was made Provost, and in December of that year appeared before Henry's Commissioners in the Collegiate Church, and there swore on his knees to obey the statutes. He was then formally installed in the Provost's seat, and thereupon tendered the oath to so many Fellows, Clerks, Scholars, and Choristers as there then were. It appears that at first, before

* *Ante*, p. 4. † p. 11.

the College buildings were ready, the boys were quartered in the town. In the Founder's Charter of 20th June, 1443, is contained a provision that all inns, houses, and mansions in Eton were to be at the disposal of the Provost for the boys and scholars resorting thither for their instruction, and all other persons in like manner resorting thither for any cause concerning the College, a provision which enabled the College to find accommodation for the boys, and at the same time insured the good behaviour of the householders and their charges.

By 1446 it is plain that scholastic apparatus was necessary, for in that year the Provosts and Fellows of Eton and King's College petitioned the King, stating that neither College was sufficiently supplied with books for divine service, and for their libraries and studies, or with vestments and ornaments, things which required time, labour, and careful inquiry to obtain. Accordingly they ask that Richard Chester, who, as related above, had been one of the envoys to the Pope, might take to himself "suche men as shall be seen to hym expedient and profitable, and in especiall John Pye," the King's stationer, and other understanding men, who should "laboure effectually, inquere, and diligently inserche" in all places within the King's jurisdiction to learn where "suche bokes, onourmentes, and other necessaries for the saide colleges may be founden to selle." And they ask that Richard Chester may have a right of preemption of such things, and especially of "all maner bokes, ornementes, and other necessaries as nowe late were perteyning to the Duke of Gloucestre."

Among the vestments that Eton obtained, presumably in consequence, was a set consisting of chasuble, two tunicles, and two copes of white satin embroidered with gold and the letters "H. et M. closed togedyr." These, according to the Use of Sarum, which was followed at Eton, would be for the great festivals. The record of this supply of vestments is

contained in a petition presented to the King by the London vestment maker, Robert Coksale, who was so anxious about the payment of his bill that he prayed leave to retain the goods until he obtained his money, the large sum for those days of £92 10s. 4d.

What the books were that were chiefly studied by the boys at this period does not appear, and it is only incidentally that we can learn anything of their daily life.

Coming now for gleanings to the Statutes of the Founder, we find they provided that the Scholars should be poor and needy boys of good character, apt for study, sufficiently instructed in reading, plain song, and the Latin Grammar of Donatus. They were to be elected between the ages of 8 and 12, unless in the electors' judgment they were so informed in grammar as by the time they reached 18 to be sufficiently complete therein, when they were eligible till 17. They were to be chosen first from places where Eton or King's had spiritual or temporal possessions; secondly, from the counties of Buckingham and Cambridge; and thirdly, from any other English county. Choristers of Eton and King's were to be preferred in each class. No villain or bastard, and no one suffering from incurable disease or bodily defect disqualifying for holy orders, was admissible, and no one worth more than five marks a year. The electors in making their choice were to pay no attention to the instances, prayers, and requests of kings, queens, princes, prelates, magnates, nobles, or anyone else, a command that was not too faithfully obeyed in later ages, especially in the subservient times of the Stuarts. Each Scholar received every year a gown and hood (24 yards of cloth, costing 50 shillings), which he might not part with for three years. The Colleger of to-day is expected to make his gown last three years also, and if it is too dilapidated within that time to be wearable he has to pay for a new one himself. So even under a new state of things, and Commission-made statutes,

JOHN KENT, SCHOLAR OF WINCHESTER

FROM A BRASS IN HEADBOURNE WORTHY CHURCH, HANTS, SHEWING THE TOGA TALARIS AS PRESCRIBED BY THE ETON STATUTES

when the foundation scholarships are open to the world and a Scholar need no longer be poor, there is continuity in a trifle.

The gown as ordered by the statutes is the *toga talaris cum capicio*, which was ordered by the Winchester statutes; and the form of it was no doubt the same as that shown on the brass of John Kent, a Scholar of Winchester, in Headbourne Worthy Church.

Besides his seventy poor Scholars the Founder contemplated other boys resorting to his school for education. The name of Oppidans does not occur in the statutes; Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte says the earliest instance of its use that he can find is in the Audit Book for 1557–58; their original style was "Commensales." These Commensals seem to have been of two orders, corresponding to commoners and gentlemen-commoners at Oxford; they were to be admitted to board and lodge in the College, paying therefor, but to be instructed in grammar gratis. It is worth noting that Waynflete borrowed this idea in his statutes for Magdalen, the first College statutes that provide for the commoner and fellow-commoner. At Eton the Commensals of the higher rank were to be sons of noblemen or powerful persons, special friends of the College, and were limited to the number of twenty. The two classes sat at different tables in Hall, the superior at the second table with the Chaplains and Usher, the others with the Scholars and Choristers. For about a hundred years, viz., from 1563 to 1660, the Audit Books contain for each quarter the names of those who had their commons in Hall; but it seems plain that these would not necessarily be all, at least after very early years. In 1467 William Paston, who was then at Eton, did not apparently dine or sup in Hall, but boarded with Thomas Stevenson, one of the Fellows, and entries in later times in the Audit Books point to the same conclusion. For instance, on the 18th September, 1608, occur payments by Dr. Langley and

Mr. Wright for chambers let by the College for three boys, Danby, Jackson, and Erdeswicke; and the names of two of these do not occur among those dining in Hall.

Evidently the boarding-house system had then begun; the chambers occupied by these boys were "in the newe buildinges," which can only mean the range in Weston's Yard, built by Sir Henry Savile for his printing press. Commensals as well as Scholars seem to have had gowns provided by the College, for in 1569, among the purchases of cloth by the College is "ix yardes one q^{tr} of clothe to make three of Mr. Daye his children their lyveries that is to saye for Holforde iij virg' dimi, for Dyos iij virg' dimi and for Sharpe ij virg 1 q^{tr}." These boys were plainly Commensals lodging with Mr. Daye; one of them, Holforde, boarded at the second table in Hall, as we know from the same Audit Book. Of course this is considerably later than the first opening of the school; but it is not a thing that is likely to be an innovation, for the tendency is always to give less and less for nothing to the Oppidan.

The commons allowed in Hall by the statutes were to the value of 1s. 6d. a week at the high table, 1s. 2d. at the second table, and 10d. at the third table per head, but provision was made for an increase of these allowances in time of dearth. The inferior Clerks and the thirteen poor lads who did menial offices waited in Hall, and had their dinner subsequently. Besides, the Provost chose a Clerk each week to serve the dishes at the high table, and the Head Master a Scholar to do the same at the other tables. The office of these Scholars thus chosen seems to be that which subsisted down till modern times in the Lower Servitors and in the Posers' Children and Fellows' Servitors at "tasting dinners." The Servitors' function, at the time of the abolition of the office, about 1870, was to hold up the hanging gown-sleeves of each sixth-form boy, as he came up to cut his helping from the joint, and to pour out beer and wait on sixth form.

In the first and second decades of this century all the dishes were brought up from the kitchen by the Lower boys. The Upper Servitor, the last boy but one in "Liberty,"* still holds his office; his duty consists of writing out the commons to be allowed for each day's dinner, according to the number who are actually dining in Hall. Till the changes brought about by the Public Schools Commission, the Servitor received six shillings a year for writing this book.

The ancient system of dining four to a mess, as in the Inns of Court, still leaves a trace in this account-keeping, for it takes account only of messes and half-messes; that is to say, three boys count as a whole mess and one boy as half a mess.

After each meal grace was said, the persons in authority sitting, the Scholars standing in order before their tables, which was followed by an antiphon of the Blessed Mary sung in common, the psalm *De Profundis*, and a prayer, as long as the Founder "did his work among human things for the souls of King Henry V. and Katherine his wife, and when he was taken away from this light for the soul of himself and other benefactors." The long grace sung in Hall at this day on Sundays before and after dinner is probably substantially the same as that of the fourteenth century. The prayer for the repose of the souls of the founder and benefactors, the antiphon of the Virgin, and the *De Profundis* have gone, presumably at the Reformation, but probably little else is altered; with some very small changes and omissions it is now the same as in 1686, when it was first printed with the other prayers then in use at Eton. The grace used at King's resembles it, and, to a certain extent, that used at Winchester, and those at Merton and other Oxford colleges.

Many of these old ceremonies of Hall survived till modern

* "Liberty" consists of the six Collegers immediately below sixth form in the Head Master's division.

times, at the so-called "tasting dinners" at Election time. Small Collegers were chosen as "servitors" to the Fellows and as "children" to the Posers or Examiners who came down from King's, and waited on them at their dinners. The office was by no means disliked, for it meant dining on greatly superior fare after the elders had done, and the Posers' children could claim by custom a guinea for their services. At the same time, in accordance with the statutes, the Bible was read from the iron desk during dinner, and the long grace sung.

After grace said the loving cup was served to those who wished, and then everyone had to leave the Hall without loitering, except for some special reason by the Provost's permission, and except on the great festivals or major doubles, "or when in winter time a fire shall be allowed in Hall, out of reverence to God and His Mother or any other Saint, the Scholars and Fellows shall be allowed to divert themselves for a reasonable time after dinner or supper with songs and other proper amusements, and to discuss poems, chronicles of kingdoms, and the wonders of the world."

These regulations for good order in Hall, as well as much besides of the statutes, were taken from the Winchester statutes often *verbatim*, and were again reproduced by Waynflete in those of Magdalen College.

A special statute (XXXVI., *De dispositione camerarum*) deals with the arrangement of chambers. They were to be assigned by the Provost. The Head Master and Fellows were to have separate chambers on the upper floor, the Chaplains on the same floor two and two. The Usher and Clerks were lodged on the upper floor if there was sufficient room, if not they had to be content with the lower floor, where the Scholars, Choristers, and Commensals were to lodge. The boys under fourteen might sleep two in a bed, above that age they must have separate beds; and in each dormitory there were to be at least three Scholars

of discretion and learning above their fellows, who acted as monitors, and reported delinquents to the authorities. Persons on the upper floor were specially cautioned not to throw down water or beer or wine to the detriment of those below. No doubt these orders for assignment of chambers were meant to refer to the original plan for the College, as explained before, for, as far as it is possible to ascertain, the scholars were always lodged in the Long Chamber, which was on the upper floor. In the mornings the boys had to rise at five, and while making their beds to say the mattins of the Blessed Virgin according to the Sarum Ordinal, and to be in school before the last stroke of the bell for mattins had sounded. Before they began school work the Usher was to say alternately with them Psalm lxvii. and certain versicles and prayers. The prayers used in 1686 at six and eleven o'clock were practically those directed here, except for certain Protestant omissions. At the time of the elevation of the Host at high mass the boys left the schoolroom for the church to bow before it. When school for the day ended prayers again were said, consisting in 1686 of Psalm cxxi., Kyrie, Pater Noster, and the versicles *In memoria aeterna erit justus*, etc., and thanksgiving for Founder and benefactors, still used after every Chapel service at Merton College, Oxford. And before getting into bed at curfew, kneeling beside their beds Scholars and Choristers repeated the hymn—

> "Salvator mundi Domine
> Qui nos servâsti hodie—
> Hac nocte nos tu protege
> Et salva nos in omni tempore," etc.,

with versicles, Pater Noster, Credo, Ave Maria, and Kyrie Eleison. Such is about what we can gather from the statutes of the daily life of an Eton boy at this time, not a very comfortable or luxurious life, and to one of our generation one of absolute hardship. Two meals, dinner and supper, are all that the statutes seem to contemplate, except on

certain "proper and accustomed days," when they might draw commons for breakfast; and till the reforms in College in the middle of this century dinner and supper were all that the College provided for the unfortunate foundation Scholars, who had to provide breakfast and tea out of their own purses.

Some of the disciplinary statutes are rather amusing, and indicate, perhaps, what the natural man of Fellow and Scholar would do if left to itself. For instance, the Founder provides, in statute XIX., that no scholar, fellow, chaplain, or other minister or servant of the College shall keep or have hunting dogs, nets for hunting, ferrets, falcons, or hawks, or practise hunting; nor shall they have or keep among themselves, or in the College, any ape, bear, fox, stag, hind, deer, badger, or any other rapacious or rare beast, which shall not profit or even harm. Further, the like persons were forbidden to grow long hair or a beard, to wear peaked shoes or moulded hoods, or, unless they walked in the town, to carry swords, long knives, or any arms. They must not frequent taverns or other disreputable places. And, lastly, they were forbidden on any account to wear red, green, or white hose. Statute XLVI. provides that no throwing of stones or balls, or leaping, wrestling, or other careless and inordinate games shall be allowed in Church, Cloister, or Hall, for fear of damage to walls, stalls, pictures, or glass windows; and anybody who damages them is to pay for what he does; and further, "that the punishment of one may be the fear of many," he may be punished by loss of commons or otherwise, at discretion of the Provost. Loss of commons was the ordinary punishment for minor offences, a punishment which has fallen into desuetude at Eton, but is still not unknown at Oxford. The Audit Books sometimes furnish us with instances of the punishment being inflicted; thus in 1611 it is noted that John Walker was "discomuned for two weekes for misbehaving himself in speeches."

The Founder, during his life, always took a great interest in the welfare of his school and its scholars. John Blackman, one of the early Fellows, and afterwards a Carthusian monk, relates that "when King Henry met some of the students in Windsor Castle, whither they sometimes used to go to visit the King's servants, whom they knew, on ascertaining who they were he admonished them to follow the path of virtue, and, besides his words, would give them money to win over their goodwill, saying to them, "Be good boys; be gentle and docile, and servants of the Lord." Probably no other English king but George III., for whom Eton always cherishes a kindly remembrance, keeping his birthday, the 4th June, as the great holiday of the year, was ever so friendly with Eton boys.

Stormy days, however, were in store for the College; the triumph of Edward IV. and the Yorkist party, in 1461, boded no good to a Lancastrian foundation. From 1459-66 there was no regular election of Scholars to King's College. That foundation seems to have gone into abeyance, all the Scholars and most of the Fellows being dismissed. One at least of the Fellows, Michael Palmer, was slain at St. Albans, fighting in defence of his Founder.

There is a very interesting document, signed by Edward, on the 27th February, 1460, in the form "E. York," promising "defence and safeguard" to the College, which is preserved among the Eton muniments. Provost Westbury must have made all speed to obtain this document after the defeat of Queen Margaret. The promise, however, contained in the document was very imperfectly kept. All grants made by the three Lancastrian kings were declared void by Parliament, towards the end of the year, and though certain fresh grants of privilege and estates were made by Edward to the College, many of its original endowments passed into other hands. Nor was this all, for in 1463 Edward determined on the suppression of the College altogether. He represented

to the Pope that the buildings were unfinished and the College likely to be useless, which was not improbable considering his robbery of it; and thereupon obtained, on the 13th November, 1463, a "Bulla Unionis," uniting the College to the foundation of St. George's, Windsor.

This Bull seems never to have been carried out in its entirety, for though some of the College goods, such as bells, jewels, and so forth were sent up to St. George's, yet the accounts of the two foundations were always kept separate, and by 1467 Provost Westbury's exertions, aided according to Eton tradition by the entreaties of Jane Shore,* had succeeded in obtaining back part of the College estates; and finally, Edward gave orders to his agents at Rome to explain that he had formerly acted under a mistake, and to request the new Pope Paul II. to cancel the Bull of Union. The Pope directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to make inquiries and to cancel the Bull, if the King now represented the facts more correctly. The Archbishop, Cardinal Bourchier, made his decree on the 30th August, 1476, reciting the Pope's Commission, dated 1470, and requiring the Chapter of Windsor to abstain from further molestation on pain of excommunication. In 1468 the income of the College had sunk to £370 from about £1500, with the result that the Almsmen were abolished, the number of Scholars reduced, and the fellowships not filled up; the commons in Hall were reduced from £7 to £3 10s. a week; the Provost and Fellows received no stipend for the year, and the Head

* The connection of Jane Shore with Eton is very obscure. There is no documentary evidence to support the tradition of her intercession for the College with her royal lover, but there are three curious portraits—two at Eton and one at King's College—which are said to be of her. One of the two pictures at Eton, which are in the Provost's Lodge, shows the head and shoulders of a beautiful woman, and the picture at King's resembles this; the other Eton picture represents the upper half of a naked woman standing by a bath holding a piece of transparent muslin in her hands. An inventory of goods taken at King's in 1660 mentions "Jane Shoar's picture," so the traditional identification is certainly of some antiquity.

Master and Usher £10 and £4 instead of £16 and £10. The next year the Provost and Fellows received arrears, but on a reduced scale, and henceforth the Provost received £20, the Fellows £5 a year, instead of the statutory £50 and £10; while the remuneration of Head Master and Usher continued on the reduced scale till the middle of the sixteenth century. The Almsmen were never restored, and the Fellows never again exceeded the number of seven instead of the statutory ten.

In 1471 Provost Westbury managed to secure a letter under the Privy Seal, ordering the restitution of the College goods, and this seems to have been carried out accordingly. Provost Westbury did not long survive the decree of Cardinal Bourchier, for he died in March, 1477, having been Provost for nearly thirty years. He has been styled the Camillus of Eton, and certainly he deserves the credit for having steered the College into safety through the most trying storms that have ever assailed it. He was succeeded in his office by Henry Bost, who was then Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and Master of King's Hall, Cambridge, which preferments he resigned after some time.

We must not forget to mention here the earliest Oppidan of whom we have record, viz., William Paston. The Paston family had been supporters of Henry VI., and that may have been the reason that William Paston was sent to Eton, or it may have been through the friendship of his elder brother, Sir John Paston, with Earl Rivers, brother of Edward's Queen, who was a patron of literature and was a benefactor to the College. This William Paston was son of John Paston, who died in 1466, and Margaret, daughter of John Mauteby. There are three letters referring to his schooling in the *Paston Letters*. The first, dated the 11th August, 1477, is from his mother to his brother, Sir John Paston, and contains the following complaint:—*

* GARDINER'S *The Paston Letters* (edit. 1896), No. 803.

"And as for yowyr brothyr, Wylliam, I wulde ye xulde purvey for hys fyndyng, for as I told yow the laste tyme that ye ware at home, I wuld no longer fynde hym at my cost and charge; hys boord and his scole hyer ys owyng sythyn Seynt Thomas Day afore Cristmesse, and he hathe great nede of gownys and odyr gere that whare necessary for hym to have in haste. I wulde ze sculde remembyrt and purvey them, for as for me, I wul nat. I thynke ze sette butte lytyl be myn blessyng, and yf ye dede, ye wulde a desyyrd yt in yowyr wrytyng to me. God make yow a good man to Hys plesans."

Clothes and money seem to have been rather hard for William Paston to come by, for the next letter, dated the 7th November, 1478, and written by the boy himself "To hys worchepful brodyr, ohn Paston," contains also requests for the same:—*

"Ryght reverent and worchepful brodyr, I recomaunde me on to yow, desyrynge to here of yowre welfare and prosperite; letynge yow wete that I have resevyd of Alwedyr a lettyr and a nobyll in gowlde therein. Ferthermor my creansyr [tutor] Mayster Thomas hertely recomandyd hym to yow and he praythe yow to sende hym sum mony for my comons; for he seythe ye be xx^ti^s. in hys dette, for a monthe was to pay for when he had mony laste.

"Also I beseche yow to send me a hose clothe, one for the halydays of sum colore, and a nothyr for the workyng days, how corse so ever it be it makyth no matyr; and a stomechere, and ij schyrtes, and a peyer of sclyppers. And if it lyke yow that I may come with Alwedyr be watyr, and sporte me with yow at London a day or ij thys terme tyme, than ye may let all thys be tyl the tyme that I come, and than I wol telle you when I schall be redy to come from Eton by the grace of God, Whom have yow in Hys kepyng. Wreten the Saturday next aftyr All Halown Day with the hand of your brodyr,

"WYLLIAM PASTON."

Not very different, perhaps, from the letter of an Eton boy of to-day asking for new clothes and money, and wanting to come up to London on leave.

* GARDINER'S *The Paston Letters* (edit. 1896), No. 824.

But the third letter is in many respects the most curious of all, for William, then between nineteen and twenty years of age, writes again to his brother John the most business-like letter, discussing a matrimonial project for himself. The letter has been several times printed, but seems quite sufficiently interesting to print again. It is dated 23rd February, 1479, and runs thus:—*

"Ryght reverent and worchepfull broder, after all dewtes of recomendacion, I recomaunde me to yow, desyryng to here of your prosperite and welfare, whych I pray God long to contynew to Hys plesore, and to your hert's desyr; letyng yow wete that I receyved a letter from yow, in the whyche letter was viij^{d}, with the whyche I schuld bye a peyer of slyppers. Ferthermor certyfying yow, as for the xiij^{s} iiij^{d} whyche ye sende by a jentylmannys man, for my borde, cawlyd Thomas Newton, was delyvered to myn hostes, and soo to my creancer, M^{r} Thomas Stevenson; and he hertily recomended hym to yow.

"Also ye sende me worde in the letter of xij^{li} fyggs and viij^{li} reysons. I have them not delyvered, but I dowte not I shall have, for Alwedyr tolde me of them, and he seyde that they came aftyr in an other barge.

"And as for the yong jentylwoman, I wol certyfye yow how I fryste felle in qweyntaince with hyr. Hir ffader is dede; ther be ij. systers of them; the elder is just weddyd; at the whych weddyng, I was with myn hostes, and also desyryd by the jentylman hym selfe, cawlyd Wylliam Swanne, whos dwyllynge is in Eton.

"So it fortuned that myne hostes reportyd on me odyrwyse than I was wordy; so that hyr moder comaundyed hyr to make me good chere, and soo in good feythe sche ded. Sche is not a bydynge ther sche is now; hyr dwellyng is in London; but hyr moder and sche come to a place of hyrs v. myle from Eton, were the weddyng was, for because it was nye to the jentylman whych weddyd hyr dowtyr. And on Monday next comynge, that is to say, the fyrst Monday of Clene Lente, hyr moder and sche wyl goo to the pardon at Schene, and soo forthe to London, and ther to abyd in a place of hyrs in Bowe Chyrche Yerde; and if it plese yow to inquere of hyr, hyr modyrs name is Mestres Alborow, the name of the dowtyr

* GARDINER'S *The Paston Letters* (edit. 1896), No. 827.

is Margarete Alborow, the age of hyr is be all lykelyod xviij. or xix. yere at the fertheste. And as for the mony and plate, it is redy when soo ever sche were weddyd; but as for the lyvelod, I trow not tyll aftyr hyr modyrs desese, but I can not telle yow, for very certeyn, but yow may know by inqueryng. And as for hyr bewte, juge yow that when ye see hyr, yf so be that ye take the laubore, and specialy beolde hyr handys, for and if it be as it is tolde me, sche is dysposyd to be thyke. And as for my comynge from Eton, I lake no thynge but wersyfyynge, whyche I troste to have with a lytyll contynuance.

> "Quare, Quomodo non valet hora, valet mora,
> Unde di [*dictum* vel *deductum* ?].
>
> "Arbore jam videas exemplum. Non die possunt
> Omnia suppleri; sed tamen illa mora.

"And thes too verse afore seyde be of myne own makyng.

"No more to yow at thys tyme, but God have yow in Hys kepyng.

"Wretyn at Eton the Even of Seynt Matthy the Apostyll, in haste, with the hande of your broder,

"WYLL'M PASTON, JUNR."

It would seem from this letter that young Paston lived in the house of the lady whom he describes as "myn hostes," though his bills seem to have been paid to Thomas Stevenson, who was one of the Fellows and his tutor. The first of the four lines seems to be the theme set by the Master for verses; unless the standard of verse-making was very low it would be more than a "lytyll contynuance" that Master Paston would need.

Not after all that every Eton boy is a good versifier nowadays, as the following true tales will illustrate. An Eton boy had to put into a Latin hexameter, "He hit him with a stick." The process gone through was this. He looked out "*homo*" in his *Gradus*, and among the phrases at the end he found "*Pulvis et umbra sumus.*" Here was a fine beginning. The Latin for "stick" he did not know, the part of his English-Latin Dictionary containing it was missing, the hour was late and his friends in bed; but a

brilliant idea struck him—he would look out "candle" and "candlestick," and find the required word by subtraction. "*Candela*" subtracted from "*candelabrum*" gave him the word "*brum*"; an epithet for "stick" was all that was now required, and the hexameter stood forth in all its glory as "*Pulvis et umbra sumus magno percussit eum bro.*" The ingenious author of the next verse was an acquaintance of the writer's. He had some so-called "sense" for verses in which occurred the words, "Woe is me," followed by a full stop, which made him think that these three words must fill a whole hexameter. A clever friend suggested to him "*Me miserum*" as a suitable remark; his memory supplied from the Latin Grammar the tag "*miserabile dictu*"; he had a dim idea that repetition was a forcible thing, and there was the line evolved, "*Eheu me miserum, miserum, miserabile dictu.*"

When William Paston was at Eton the Head Master was Walter Barber, of whom nothing is known except the note affixed to his name in the Register of Scholars at King's College that he was father of Walter the Hermit, whoever he may have been, and that he retained office till about 1479, when David Haubroke succeeded him. It may satisfy curiosity to say that William Paston's match with Margaret Alborow never came off, so far as is known; he was certainly not married some years later, when his brother Edmund wrote to him telling him of a rich widow whose husband had lately died,* who would make him a good match.

Edward IV. died on April 9th, 1483, at Westminster, and was buried in St. George's, Windsor, the funeral procession halting at Eton while the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely and the members of the College censed the corpse. The short reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. passed without much to affect the College. A general pardon was

* GARDINER'S *The Paston Letters* (edit. 1896), No. 858.

obtained from Richard on his accession, and a portrait of him hangs in the Provost's Lodge. Among the celebrated Etonians of this time was Thomas Rotheram, one of the only two Etonian Lord Chancellors, a distinguished ecclesiastic and lawyer, having been Bishop of Rochester and Lincoln, Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal. He was one of the first batch of Scholars elected to King's College. He died of the plague in 1500.

Henry VII. appears to have been a good friend to the College, though the tradition that he was educated at Eton, unfortunately, as mentioned before, perpetuated in stained glass in the Hall, seems absolutely baseless. In 1489 Eton and King's College together petitioned the King to appoint a commission, which should summon before it persons holding estates seized from the two foundations, that they might show cause why such estates should not be restored to the petitioners, with the result that the College recovered many of its lost possessions. William Horman, who was Head Master from 1487 to 1494, was a man of some repute in his day. He had been educated at Winchester and New College, and he resigned the headmastership of Eton to take the like post at Winchester. In 1502 he came back to Eton, and died there Vice-Provost in 1535, aged, according to the brass to his memory, nearly a hundred years. He and his friend William Lilly, the famous Master of St. Paul's and author of the Greek Grammar, carried on an acrimonious controversy with Robert Whittington in defence of their system of teaching Greek. He was also the author of a *Compendium of the History of William of Malmesbury*, an *Epitome of the History of Pico Mirandola*, and a school book, entitled *Vulgaria Puerorum*, a collection of English sentences ranged under different headings with their Latin translations. Roger Ascham seems to have had no high opinion of the *Vulgaria*, for he styles it "beggarlie gatheringes." It was printed in 1519, and the original contract with Richard

Pynson for the printing of 800 copies for £32 15s. is still in existence in the Record Office.*

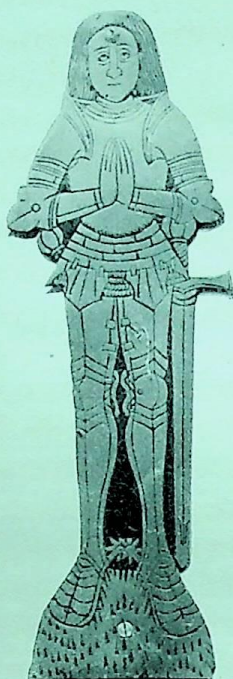
With the exception of Sir Henry Wotton, Horman was the largest giver of MSS. to the College; of the hundred or so in the College Library twelve appear to be his gift. Provost Bost died in February, 1504, leaving by will to the College a chair of state for use of the king or other great noble in the Chapel, and also the furniture of his rooms in St. James' Hospital and the Provost's Lodging for the use of his successors. He also gave certain lands to the College, and endowed an additional chaplain to say mass for him and his relatives at least three times a week at the altar of St. Catherine in the nave of the Church. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte concludes that the row of niches behind the statue of Provost Goodall in the ante-chapel formed the reredos of this altar.

* *Cal. State Papers.* Henry VIII., vol. iii. p. 118.

CHAPTER V.

PROVOST LUPTON—CROKE AND THE STUDY OF GREEK—THOMAS TUSSER—PLAY-ACTING—SIR THOMAS SMITH, PROVOST — RELIGIOUS TROUBLES OF MARY AND ELIZABETH — MALIM'S "CONSUETUDINARIUM"— COMMENSALS—FAMOUS ETONIANS.

ROGER LUPTON, an alien, was the successor of Provost Bost, and, as has been related in the treating of the buildings, a considerable benefactor to the College. The chantry still called by his name was supplied by him with ornaments and vestments, and to maintain a priest to serve it he gave the College the Manor of Puryton, in Hertfordshire. He also arranged with the Fellows for an annual distribution of money, to take place on the anniversary of his death. The Provost received 2s. 8d.; the Fellows, Head Master, and Lupton's chaplain 1s. 4d.; the other Chaplains and the Usher 8d.; the Clerks 6d.; and the Scholars and Choristers a penny apiece. The Scholars and Choristers still get this penny in the threepenny pieces distributed on February 27th, "Threepenny Day," the other two pence being from the gift of Provost Bost; but the distribution to the other members of the College has ceased to take place.

The threepennies now are distributed after dinner in Hall by the Provost, Bursar, or Master in College; each Colleger is called up in turn, beginning at the lowest, and

RICHARD, LORD GREY

FROM A BRASS IN ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL
THE EARLIEST PORTRAIT OF AN ETON BOY

the Captain gets as many as are left, sometimes as many as eight or ten, if several boys are absent. Tossing for them is the usual sequence at the present day.

In 1510 Henry VIII. paid the College a visit, and was entertained at the College expense. It is recorded that he offered 13s. 4d. in the Church, and gave the schoolmaster and children 66s. 8d.

Among famous Etonians of this day must particularly be mentioned Richard Croke, one of the earliest English scholars to study Greek. He left Eton for King's College in 1506, and while still a Scholar there he attended the Greek lessons of Grocyn, the friend of Erasmus, at Oxford. By the generosity of Archbishop Warham Croke was enabled to study at Paris and other foreign universities, and with such success that he acquired a European reputation, and was successively Professor of Greek at Leipsic, Louvain, Cambridge, and Oxford. He was one of the first canons of Christ Church, and died in London in 1558. Robert Aldrich, Croke's contemporary at Eton and King's, and like him a friend of Erasmus and an ardent promoter of the new learning, returned to Eton as Head Master in 1515, which office he held till 1520. It seems not improbable that the introduction of Greek at Eton was due to him. Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College Oxford, who must have been at Eton somewhere about this time, says that Greek was studied in the school in his school days. Pope was probably a Commensal, and so too probably was Richard Grey, Lord Grey, Cotenore, Wylton, and Ruthyn, who died in 1521, and whose brass in the Chapel represents him in his armour as page of honour to Henry VIII. He was son of Edmond Lord Grey.

In 1498 had been buried in the Chapel Edward Audley, son of Lord Audley, who, as his epitaph states, learnt grammar here, and was afterwards squire of Prince Edward, son of Edward IV.; so it is tolerably evident that the

Founder's wish that young noblemen should resort to the school was being fulfilled.

Among the Etonian apostles of the new learning should be mentioned also John Rightwise, who married the daughter of the famous William Lilly, and succeeded him as Master of St. Paul's. He was elected to King's in 1508, and probably died in 1532. He deserves to be remembered as the composer of the *Propria quae maribus* and *As in praesenti,* endeared to or perhaps hated by so many generations of schoolboys. Edward Hall, the Chronicler, from whose work Shakspere drew the materials of his historical plays, was an Etonian, and elected to King's in 1514. He subsequently attained the dignities of Common Serjeant and Judge of the Sheriff's Court of the City of London.

Provost Lupton resigned his office in 1535, and Aldrich, who since he had given up the mastership had been made Archdeacon of Colchester, Canon of Windsor, and Registrar of the Garter, succeeded him. In 1537 Aldrich was made Bishop of Carlisle, but he retained the provostship till 1547, when he resigned.

Of the Head Masters of this time Richard Coxe (1528–34) and Nicholas Udall (1534–43) call for some mention. Coxe had a high reputation for learning in his day, and took a large part in support of the Lutheran views in the religious contentions of the time. He was one of Edward VI.'s tutors, was Dean of Christ Church, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He was one of the divines who revised the Prayer-book, and was made Bishop of Ely by Queen Elizabeth, dying in that see in 1581, in his eighty-second year. He seems to have caused some remark, if not scandal at Christ Church, by being the first to bring a wife to live in a College.

Udall was a man of very different stamp. He had a reputation for the severity of his floggings. One of his pupils, Thomas Tusser, the author of the *Five Hundred*

Points of Good Husbandry, in his curious autobiography in verse, says:—

> "From Powles I went, to Aeton sent,
> To learne straightwayes the Latin phraise;
> Where fiftie-three stripes given to me
> At once I had.
> For faut but small, or none at all,
> It came to passe thus beat I was:
> See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
> To mee, poore lad."

Udall's career as Master came to a very disgraceful termination after he had been at Eton about ten years. He was accused before the Star Chamber of being concerned in a robbery of silver images and plate, which had been committed by two boys named Thomas Cheney and John Hoorde. It does not appear that he was guilty of this, but he had to confess to a most disgraceful outrage on morality, for which he might have suffered the extreme penalty of the law; but he was, in fact, only committed for a time to the Marshalsea. He afterwards regained his freedom, obtained arrears of his salary from the College, and in later years was made Head Master of Westminster.

Of the amusements of the boys at this time we have not much information; the Audit Books supply us with a few notices: thus in 1469 and 1473 we hear of payments made to minstrels of the King, and in 1484 of a sum paid to a minstrel of Bishop Waynflete. These minstrels were not only singers, but actors, mimics, jesters, and buffoons. Sometimes the boys enjoyed the pleasures of a bear bait, for in 1482 the College gave a shilling to the keepers of Lord Stanley's bears. But by Udall's time the chief amusement seems to have been play-acting. As early as 1525 the College spent ten shillings for "ornaments" for two plays performed in the Hall at Christmas. Some years later an inventory of articles in "Mr. Scholemaster's chamber" includes "a great cheste bound about with yron to keep the players' coats in," and

a list of the clothes follows, consisting of male and female garments, false beards, and other properties. Udall appears to have fostered these performances among his pupils. He was the author of *Ralph Royster Doyster*, the earliest English comedy, a somewhat dull play in the Plautine mode, but which was revived with success in America not long ago, with the addition of a chorus of Udall's pupils. The official drama has died out at Eton, but survives at Westminster in the annual play, and as Udall was afterwards Head Master of Westminster it may have been introduced there by him. In a former chapter Henry VIII.'s spoliation of College lands has been mentioned, and in 1545 he seems to have contemplated making the College follow the way of the monasteries. In that year he obtained a grant from Parliament of all chantries, free chapels, hospitals, and colleges, and in 1546 Commissioners arrived at Eton to report on the College revenues and value its movable property. The income of the College was returned at £1066 16s. 9½d. The Provost at this time was paid £30 a year, the seven Fellows £5 apiece, the Head Master £10, and the Usher £4. The amount of plate in the possession of the College, which of course includes that used in the Church, was considerable. The total weight was 2314¼ ozs., consisting of plate gilt and enamelled, 314¼ ozs.; plate gilt and not enamelled, 1000 ozs.; plate parcel gilt, 847½ ozs.; and white plate, 152½ ozs. Fortunately, perhaps, for Eton the death of the King prevented his further pleasure being signified, and though a bill was introduced into Parliament in the first year of Edward VI., which threatened the College with extinction, the friends of learning in general, or of Eton in particular, secured the insertion of a clause specially exempting Eton along with the two Universities, Winchester College, and a few other foundations, from the universal suppression effected by the bill.

On the resignation of Provost Aldrich in 1547 Dr. Thomas

Smith was elected Provost by the influence of the Protector Somerset, who sent the Fellows a mandate in the King's name for his election, dispensing them from any hindrances on the ground of his not fulfilling the statutory qualifications. It is perhaps worth remarking how the Crown has gradually, though not without many struggles, usurped the disposal of this place, which the Founder ordered should be filled by the free choice of the Fellows, until now the new statutes of the College provide that the appointment to the provostship shall be vested in the Crown. Smith was made Secretary of State, and knighted in the following year. He held several other ecclesiastical preferments, and though it has been doubted, was certainly in orders. He was the founder of the family of Bowyer-Smijth, of Hill Hall in Essex, the present representatives of which are descended from his brother's son, he himself, though twice married, having left no issue.

Provost Smith was a zealous Reformer, and during his provostship various ecclesiastical changes were carried out. The high altar and images about it were removed, the paintings on the walls appear to have been whitewashed and texts of scripture substituted, the holy water stoup at the door removed, and the new book of Homilies and Communion Office purchased. After 1551 the College ceased to keep some of the festivals enjoined by the Founder, viz., those of the Death and Translation of St. Thomas à Becket, of Corpus Christi, of Relics, of the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin, and of the Dedication of the Church.

Sir Thomas Smith was a scholar of some repute in his day, especially in Greek, and he had also been Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge. He advocated a theory of the proper pronunciation of Greek in opposition to Erasmus, and was perhaps the earliest phonetic reformer of English spelling. He appears to have caused considerable scandal in his day by introducing a wife into the College. His successor in office speaks of him contemptuously as "*quidam laicus et con-*

jugatus," and certain it is that the College went to considerable expense for his domestic comfort, building him a new kitchen and cellar, and allowing him money in lieu of his commons in Hall—another breach of the statutes. He resigned his office on the accession of Queen Mary, no doubt to avoid deprivation. He enjoyed later on the favour of Elizabeth, and it is worth remarking that to him is due the system of corn rents on College leases, which was made obligatory on the two Universities and the Colleges of Eton and Winchester by statute in 1575. Two years later he died.

Of the Head Masters about this time a few words must be said. Udall was succeeded by one Tyndall, who is described as Thomas Cromwell's "true scholar and beadsman," and who is probably, therefore, identical with Martin Tyndall, elected to King's in 1526, and in 1533 writing letters to Cromwell soliciting the aid of his purse. Neither Tyndall nor his three successors held their posts for very long; one of them, William Barker, received in 1551 a royal license to marry. Barker was succeeded about 1555 by William Malim, to whom we shall have to return presently in connection with an account of the school in his day, which is now preserved at Corpus Christi College Cambridge. Queen Mary appointed Henry Cole Provost in Smith's room. Cole was a Wykehamist, and had been Warden of New College. He was a man of piety and religion, but attached to the older ecclesiastical fashions, and on his appointment set about restoring, as far as possible, the Church and its services to their former condition, cleaning the paintings in the choir, reintroducing the Sarum use, and collecting again vestments and ritualistic vessels. Cole was selected in 1556 to preach at Oxford before Cranmer's execution, and in consequence of the way he acquitted himself on this occasion he obtained further preferments, being made Dean of St. Paul's, Vicar-General to Cardinal Pole, and Dean of Arches. An amusing story is told, on the authority of Archbishop Ussher, of his

being sent to Ireland with ample powers for the suppression of heresy. On his journey there, while staying with the Mayor of Chester, the Mayor's wife, being a Protestant and suspecting his errand, opened the box containing his commission, which she abstracted, substituting for it a package of similar bulk and weight. Cole landed at Dublin on 7th October, 1558, and announced his mission at a meeting of the Privy Council, whereupon Lord Fitzwalter, the Lord-Deputy, handed the box to his secretary to open. Great was the consternation when it was discovered that it contained nothing but a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost. The Lord-Deputy said, "Let us have another commission, and we will meanwhile shuffle the cards." Cole hurried back to England and obtained a fresh commission, but before he could sail again the Queen was dead, "and thus God preserved the Protestants in Ireland."

Cole was bold enough to proclaim publicly his aversion to further ecclesiastical changes, and at a formal disputation in Westminster Abbey, as the spokesman of eight Roman Catholic divines, he defended the use of Latin in the Church services with such zeal that Bacon, the Lord Keeper, brought the conference to an abrupt end on the second day, fined him 500 marks, and on the 20th May, 1560, committed him to the Tower, from which six weeks later he was removed to the Fleet. The accounts of his death and burial are conflicting, but his name occurs in a list of the Fleet prisoners in 1579, and he probably died in that or the following year, aged eighty or upwards.

In the Marian persecution more than one Etonian suffered at the stake for his faith. Foxe, in his *Book of Martyrs*, relates at length the burning of Robert Glover and Lawrence Saunders at Coventry, and of John Hullier on Jesus Green at Cambridge, all three Etonians and King's men.

Having arrived now at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, we must take some particular notice of the very interesting

document alluded to just now as preserved in Corpus Christi College Cambridge. This document, styled *Consuetudinarium vetus scholae Ætonensis*, was drawn up by William Malim, the Head Master, in 1560, no doubt for submission to the royal commission which visited the College in 1561, and came to Corpus Christi College along with Archbishop Parker's other manuscripts. It consists of a detailed account of the work, play, discipline, and customs of the school at the time. It is divided into two parts—first, a *Calendarium* enumerating the holidays and customs for each month of the year, and then an account hour by hour of a day's routine. It will no doubt be of interest to epitomise the document.

An ordinary day began at 5 a.m. with one of the four præpostors of the dormitory, who took the duty week and week about in turn, thundering out "*Surgite.*" Every boy rose at once, at least so Malim says, and proceeded to dress, reciting prayers meanwhile, each one taking it in turn to begin. Prayers finished, they each made their beds and swept all the dust from under them into the middle of the room, which four boys appointed by the præpostor collected into one heap and removed. After this they went to wash their hands, two and two, doubtless at an open conduit, and having finished this needful process they went into school. At six the Usher came in, and, kneeling at the upper end of the room, read prayers. Prayers over, he began to teach the four lowest forms of the seven into which the school was divided, hearing them a part of speech or a verb which had been set them to learn on the previous day. While he was doing this one of the præpostors of school was taking down from the præpostor of each form the names of all absentees from morning prayers, which he handed to the Usher; and another præpostor, always entrusted with this duty, was carefully examining faces and hands to see if any were unwashed, to be ready to report their owners to the Head Master on his entry at seven. On his arrival the fourth form

were turned over to him by the Usher, and the præpostors of each class reported to him all absent after seven o'clock, and the præpostors of school reported to him and the Usher their respective charges absent on the evening before, after six and seven o'clock, from school. Then all the forms repeated the lessons learnt, the dunce or *custos* always beginning. Work went on in this way with verse writing, translation, the committing to memory of short sentences or examples of rules known as "*Vulgaria.*" We referred before to a compilation of *Vulgaria* by Horman, the Head Master. Before ten o'clock there seems to have been a short interval—whether for breakfast or not does not appear, no mention of such a meal is made; and as till quite modern times the College did not provide it for the scholars, it was probably not usual. At ten there were prayers again, all rising at the word of the præpostor of school, "Stand up for prayers!" At eleven o'clock the poor wretches were released, and went two and two to the Hall for dinner. They were back again at work at noon till three, when they had an hour free. We must presume this was for play, though it is not so said; but we know that there were four præpostors for the Playing Fields, and they must have had some opportunity of exercising their functions. From four to five they were in school again, and at five "they go out and come back in the same order as before dinner," so we may conclude it was for supper. From six to eight they returned to lessons under the charge of the boys of the seventh form, who practised them in translation from English into Latin; but they had a break at seven for drinks, small beer probably, as contemplated, if not enjoined, by statute XVII., which speaks of "*potationes in aula hora ignitegii.*" At eight they went to bed, saying their prayers, having well earned their night's repose.

In 1686 prayers were read at seven and eleven, and, without much doubt, were the same as read in Malim's time

at six and ten. We have said something of this before, which it is unnecessary to repeat; it is only worth noting that the prayers at the end of the day said in school, which were at five p.m. in 1686, are not mentioned by Malim at all, but looking to what they consist of, as mentioned before, and the fact that they are enjoined by the statutes, it is impossible to believe that in Malim's day they were omitted.

The instruction seems to have been almost entirely in Latin, the only exception would appear to be that the sixth and seventh forms studied Greek Grammar; but no Greek authors are mentioned as read, and this confirms Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, who, writing in 1556, says, "I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton the Greke tongue was growing apace; the study of which is now alate much decaid." The Latin books that were read by the first form were Cato and Vives, that is the *Disticha de Moribus ad filium* of Dionysius Cato, a work of unknown origin, which served as the universal delectus of the Middle Ages, and the *Exercitatio Linguae Latinae* of John Lewis Vives. The latter, a great Spanish scholar of the day, had been one of the first Fellows of Corpus Christi College Oxford. He was brought there by Bishop Foxe, the founder, in 1517, and was the instructor of, among others, Nicholas Udall, who matriculated at that College in 1520. The second form read Terence, the Dialogues of Lucian, and Æsop's Fables; the third form Terence, Selections from Cicero's Letters, and Æsop's Fables; the fourth form Terence, Ovid's *Tristia*, the Apophthegms and Epigrams of Martial Catullus, and Sir Thomas More; the fifth form studied Justinus, the Antonine Historian, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus, Cicero's Letters, Sysembrotus, *i.e.*, Susenbrotus' *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum et Grammaticorum et Rhetoricorum*, and Horace; and the sixth and seventh forms Cæsar's Commentaries, Cicero's *De Officiis* and *De Amicitia*, Virgil, and Lucan, or

other books chosen by the Head Master. The Lucian and Æsop must have been read in Latin translations. It is curious what a favourite author Lucian was at Eton, for not only does his work form a very large part of a compilation known as the *Scriptores Graeci*, which was used at Eton from the middle of last century till the middle of this, but even before this book was compiled he was, it would seem, much read. Sir Edward Creasy, in his memoir of Lord Lyttelton, who was at Eton about 1720, says that the idea of his *Dialogues of the Dead* was probably suggested by his studies of Lucian as an Eton boy.

Latin composition seems to have occupied part of every day in every form, ranging from simple translation of English sentences in the lower forms to verse composition on set subjects in the highest. There seems to have been something like what is known as "construing" now at Eton, for the two masters read over and explained to their pupils the books they were to study; and from these readings, Malim remarks, "the boys collect flowers, phrases, and locutions, as well as antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, histories, descriptions of time, place, and persons, fables, witticisms, figures, and apophthegms." Nowadays in the lower and middle forms of the school the books read in school are construed with the tutors in the pupil room beforehand. Friday must have been the worst day of the week, for the misdemeanours of the week were saved up till then for punishment, which was meted out after the first lesson of the day. The system of giving the Upper boys authority over the Lower dates back, it will be observed, as far as this, and seems to have been the universal system in English schools. Not only, as we have said, were lessons prepared in the evening under the superintendence of boys of the highest form, as they are still prepared at Winchester, but Malim specially mentions that four præpostors are appointed from among the boys. Of these four one kept order in Hall

—the Prefect of Hall is still at Winchester the head—two in the Chapel, and all four had duties in the Playing Fields and dormitory. And apparently besides these four there were two præpostors for the Oppidans, and one to look after dirty boys who do not wash their face and hands. It may be interesting to compare, for the benefit of those who do not know Eton of to-day, the present functions of præpostors.

Every Division in the school has a præpostor, always an Oppidan, except in Division I., whose business it is to mark in at every school chapel and "absence" the boys in his Division, and see that all absentees are duly accounted for, as absent on leave, through illness, and so forth. He holds office for half a week, and has to render account of his stewardship both to the Master of his Division and the Head Master. There is a separate College præpostor whose duties are practically confined to marking in the Collegers at Chapel and "absence," for the Collegers all sit together in Chapel and have the privilege of being called over first at "absence," and do not for these purposes take their places according to their Divisions in the school. Besides these præpostors there are special arrangements with regard to the Head Master's Division. This Division consists of the Sixth form, *i.e.*, the ten senior Collegers and ten senior Oppidans, and the six highest Collegers and six highest Oppidans in the Fifth form, who are known as "Liberty." The functions of the Division præpostor are performed by the boys in "Liberty," both Collegers and Oppidans; but besides that each week there is a Sixth form Colleger and Sixth form Oppidan præpostor, whose duties correspond more nearly with, and are a survival of the præpostors with monitorial authority of Malim's day. These two præpostors have the privilege of staying out of every school during their week of office, and of missing (or skipping, as it is called) a weekly copy of verses, in respect of office in any week of the half. At

every school, except early school, when they may lie in bed, they have to appear and act as messengers of the Head Master in summoning delinquents to appear, circulating general orders among the other Divisions, and so on, and if there is an execution they superintend the details, handing the Head Master the birch, and procuring the services of the assistants known as "holders down." Nowadays flogging or "swishing" are rare, but not so very long ago the key of the birch cupboard was not an unmeaning symbol of office.

The Colleger præpostor has certain other duties in relation to the Collegers only; till the present Head Master's time he always read over the Collegers' names at "absence," instead of the Head Master, and he still does so at prayers in College in the evening. His also is the duty known as "keeping Chamber," that is to say, seeing that the fifteen junior Collegers are in bed by ten, which makes him hurry over his supper if he is conscientious.

We must return, however, to Malim's *Consuetudinarium*, for we have yet to deal with the observances of the several months.

At the beginning of January the boys were enjoying what Christmas holidays they got, of course at Eton. On New Year's Day they played both before and after supper for presents, and in accordance with custom, by way of good omen, composed poems for presentation to the Provost, Fellows, Head Master, and each other. These verses, composed, as Malim says, "*ipso Calendarum Januar. die*," survived till modern times in the "Calendae" copy, so called, in which the Captain of the school related the chief events of the year. Specimens of them may be seen in the *Musae Etonenses*, but nowadays the Captain has ceased to write them, which seems a pity.

The Feast of the Epiphany was a "greater double," and there was play before and after supper; the relaxation,

apparently that in later times, was known as "play at four," but which with the modern re-arrangement of hours is only known on exceptional occasions to this generation. On all "greater double" feasts there was play before and after supper, and the school and dormitory were swept out after dinner, whether instead of the usual sweeping in the morning, or as an additional honour for the feast day, does not appear. On the day after the Epiphany lessons began again in full swing, "whether the boys liked it or not," adds Malim somewhat grimly. On January 13th were celebrated the exequies of Waynflete, and all the boys were presented with twopence. On some day fixed by the Head Master, about the Conversion of St. Paul (January 24th), "the boys go in the customary manner in which they go to collect nuts in September *ad montem*." This, the earliest notice of Montem, we shall say no more about now, for it will be more convenient to collect together in one place all that has to be said about that very interesting institution.

The Feast of the Purification (February 2nd) was a holiday, and on February 7th the exequies of Provost Bost were celebrated, and on the following day, after the conclusion of prayers for the dead, there was play before and after supper. February 27th was the obit of Provost Lupton, and every boy received a penny from Lupton's bounty, as mentioned before, and played from dinner till eight o'clock.

On the Monday before Ash-Wednesday the boys of the Seventh and Sixth forms and some part of the Fifth form wrote verses "in praise or abuse of Father Bacchus, and because poets are said to be the clients of Bacchus they sing Dionysus in every sort of metre." These were the *Bacchus* verses which we have spoken of before in our account of the Hall. In Malim's time they were hung up, not in the Hall, but on the inner doors of the College; that is, the doors under Lupton's tower. After nine o'clock on this day was a holiday.

Shrove Tuesday was a whole holiday after eight o'clock, and was marked, as it still is, at Westminster by ceremonies connected with pancakes. "The cook comes," says Malim, "fixes a pancake to a crow at the school door, according to the saying '*The young ravens that call upon Him.*'" Malim by this quotation from Psalm cxlvii. seems to suggest that the ceremony was a reminder, especially suitable for the coming season of Lent, that God gives meat in due season to men as well as to the fowls of the air. But it is worth noticing that there prevailed all over England, in some places certainly down to the end of last century, a custom, of which the word "cockshy" preserves record, of throwing sticks at cocks or other live birds on Shrove Tuesday. The origin of this cruel barbarity, which is very obscure, is discussed in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, and it may be that the Eton custom, taking its rise in this usage, had been metamorphosed into the religious symbolism that we have indicated.

The account which Malim gives of Ash-Wednesday he subsequently draws his pen through, apparently because it had just become obsolete, but for our purposes it is none the less interesting. About ten o'clock they went to church, and "both Collegians and Oppidans" chose confessors from the Fellows or Chaplains, and the names of the boys who confessed were written on confessional rolls by the *censores templi*, by which Malim means the præpostors of Chapel.

The Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin was a "lesser double," and there was no holiday, except at the pleasure of the Head Master.

On Wednesday in Holy Week regular work ceased and the boys practised writing, those who were not yet adepts in the art learning, those who were elegant scribes doing figures of the letters and setting copies for their fellows. About four o'clock in the afternoon they went to church. On the *Cœna Domini*, or Maundy Thursday, a certain number of

the boys were selected by the Head Master to receive the sacrament. After the reception they came back into the choir in surplices, and they ought not, says Malim, to be absent from giving thanks to God in Hall. Those who communicated dined at a separate table and on better fare at the College expense, and after dinner asked leave of the Head Master to take a country walk, which was usually granted if they would not go into ale or wine shops. All the boys played after dinner till 8 p.m. On Good Friday there was a writing lesson till about nine, when they went to church for Morning Prayer. After dinner the boys all met in the schoolroom, and about one the Head Master came in and addressed the boys, chiefly the Upper ones, on the nature of the Eucharist, how it ought to be received, and who were worthy and unworthy recipients. This lasted about an hour, and at four they went to church again. Play followed, and meanwhile the Head Master settled who should attend Communion on Easter Sunday. On Easter Eve there was a writing lesson as usual till seven or eight o'clock, followed by service in the chapel. After dinner there were no more lessons, but play till the bell for Evening Prayer. At seven p.m. they went to bed, "for," as Malim continues, "they used to rise at the third watch, celebrating again in most grateful memory the exceeding glory of the Lord's death and resurrection. While this custom flourished here three or four older scholars were chosen by the Head Master, at the request of the chaplain, to watch the sepulchre with lighted tapers and torches in accordance with the ceremony, lest the Jews should steal the Lord, or rather, lest harm should happen from the careless watching of the lights."

The ceremony had doubtless been dropped as superstitious, and it is curious to see Malim, after giving the significance of the custom, adding a rationalistic interpretation.

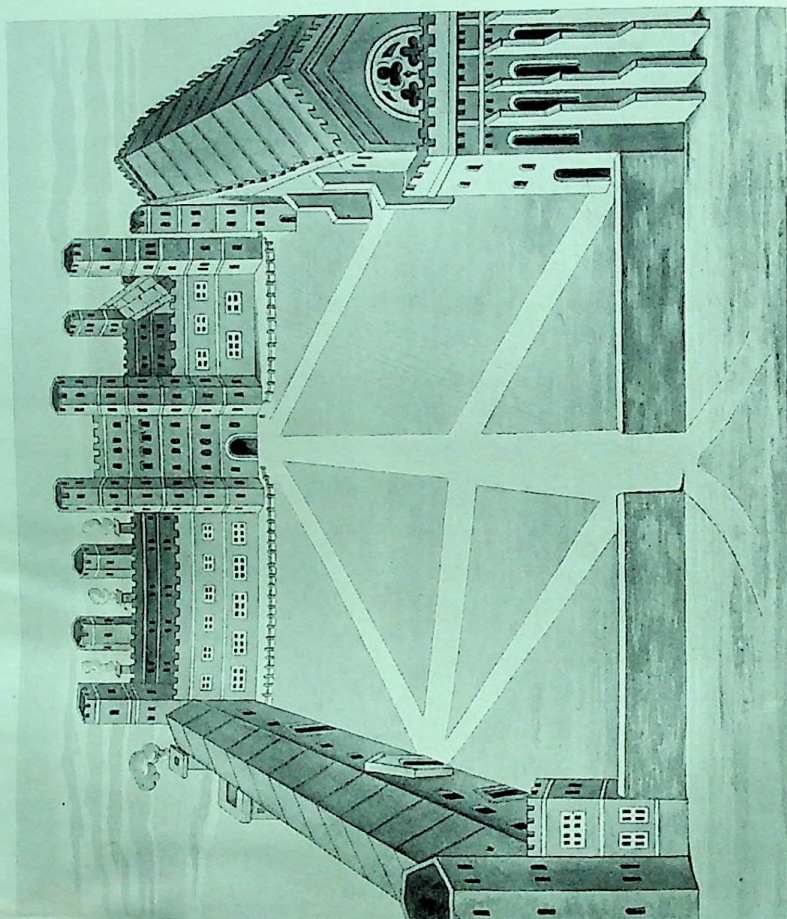
On Easter Monday the normal course of studies was resumed.

This brings us to May. May Day, as still at Magdalen College Oxford, was a day for early rising. By leave of the Head Master, and on condition of not getting their feet wet, such boys as liked got up at four a.m. to gather branches of may, with which they adorned the windows of the dormitory. For literary amusement they were allowed to describe the sweetness of spring in verse, and even in English verse, if they could quote something suitable in Latin from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, or other good and famous poets.

"John *ante portam Latinam* brings with him many conveniences," says Malim, and proceeds to explain that from that feast (May 6th) onwards the boys had the curious privilege of going to sleep in school after dinner, until roused at three by the præpostor of Hall, when they enjoyed "bever," the light refection of bread and beer, which was still served in the summer afternoons in Hall until 1889, when in a fit of economy the College thought it right to abolish it. Besides these two privileges they got another hour's play after supper, from seven to eight.

The 21st May was kept in memory of the Founder, and the boys got twopence apiece. Ascension Day must have been welcomed gladly, for then the only holidays that would seem real to a modern Etonian began and lasted till the Feast of *Corpus Christi* (June 14th). During this period lessons were stopped, and industrious boys were allowed to visit their parents or friends who supported them at school. Any boy who had not returned to school by vespers on the day before *Corpus Christi* was flogged, while those who tarried away any length of time were not received back. Before they left for their holidays they were assembled in school and exhorted by the Head Master to behave themselves and not bring disgrace on the reputation of their College and their Master. The observances of the month of June were obsolete when Malim wrote, but they used, he says, on the Feasts of the Nativity of St. John

(Midsummer Day) and of St. Peter (June 29th) after morning prayers to have bonfires at the east end of the church, and stand round in order while the choir sang three antiphons. On the vigils of these two feasts they used to adorn their beds with divers coloured pictures of divers things, and compose poems on the lives and deeds of these saints, and then write them out beautifully, and fix them on the foot of their beds. Afterwards they played and had the privilege of, in modern Eton parlance, a "long lie" the next morning, in consideration of its being nearly nine before they got to bed. Youthful reformers have before now suggested in the columns of the *Eton College Chronicle* that the Fourth of June should be followed in a similar way, and they might point with great propriety to the habit of the sixteenth century. The Visitation of the Virgin on July 2nd was a "greater double" and a holiday. On the Translation of St. Thomas (July 7th) there was a holiday if the Head Master pleased, and there used, on that day also, to be a bonfire, but no writing of poems or adorning of beds. The Feast of Relics, one of the great feast days ordered by the Founder, was still kept as a holiday, and the dormitory was swept. This sweeping of the dormitory on great feasts may well have been the origin of the "rug-riding" in Long Chamber at Election, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter.

Five weeks before Election notices were posted on the College doors, announcing to all boys of gentle mind and excellent parts that they might submit themselves to examination, and the fittest out of all England would be chosen into the College. There were half-holidays for five days in Election Week if the hood of the philosopher's cloak belonging to the Provost or the poser were brought into Hall. The exequies of Robert Rede were celebrated, who in 1515 left property at Burnham to the College to celebrate annually a mass for his soul and that of his wife Meriel.

VIEW OF ETON IN 1622

FROM A COLOURED REPRESENTATION ON THE TOMB OF SIR HENRY SAVILE IN MERTON COLLEGE CHAPEL.

The Feast of the Assumption (August 15th) was the great feast day of the year. It will be remembered how in former times it was marked by great ecclesiastical observances, and the attendance not only of all the Fellows, but of all Bishops who had been Fellows and of pilgrims seeking plenary absolution, in accordance with the Papal bulls, at the hands of the Provost. Now the feast was kept by sweeping out the dormitory the evening before, and keeping holiday from after vespers on the vigil and all day on the Feast. The Beheading of St. John the Baptist (August 29th) marked the close of the summer relaxations that began on St. John *ante portam Latinam*, and it was customary for the College Steward to ask the Head Master for a whole holiday on the day in the boys' name.

The Nativity of the Virgin (September 8th) was no longer observed, but on some day in September chosen by the Head Master the boys had leave to go and gather nuts. Part of their spoils they used to give to the Head Master and the Fellows. Before they got leave for their nutting they had to write poems describing the fertility and fruitful abundance of autumn, and lamenting as sorrowfully as they could the fatal cold of approaching winter. "Learning thus from boyhood the vicissitude of all things they leave their nuts, as the proverb says, that is, leaving their boyish studies and trifles they turn to graver and more serious things."

On the day of the Translation of King Edward (October 13th), and on all feast days till Easter, they had to go into school at four to receive for an hour instruction out of the Bible and sacred books, that they might thence learn to love holiness of life and to utterly detest abandoned and profligate manners and wicked deeds.

The Feast of All Saints (November 1st) was a holiday. On the next day, that of All Souls', the boys went to church in surplices about seven o'clock for prayers, and after dinner they went into school and recited in turns funeral prayers, in

memory of and gratitude for the dead. The Head Master was present, and after making them read mournful passages and compose commonplaces about the glory of the resurrection, the blessedness of departed souls, and the hope of immortality, dismissed them at two or three o'clock to play.

It had been customary at Eton, though the custom was obsolete when Malim wrote, to elect a Boy-Bishop on St. Hugh's Day (November 13th); he is styled by Malim *Episcopus Nihilensis*. This curious mediæval custom had been abolished by proclamation of Henry VIII. in 1543. Special mention of this annual ceremony is made by the Founder in the statutes. Statute XXXI., which deals with the order of services and holy days to be kept, and so forth, enjoins that the Provost, on the chief feasts which are mentioned, is to perform the services according to the use of Sarum, and continues, "except on the Feast of St. Nicholas, on which, and by no means on the feast of the Holy Innocents, we permit the divine offices, except the secrets of the mass, to be performed and said by a boy-bishop of the scholars, to be chosen for this every year." The usual day for choosing a boy-bishop was St. Nicholas' Day (December 6th), and he held office till the Innocents' Day. Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, has conjectured, from this passage of the statutes and what Malim says, that there were two boy-bishops annually elected at Eton, one for the College, the other for the school, and he is followed in this by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte; but the conjecture seems unnecessary, for the statute does not say on what day the election is to be, but merely that he is to say the offices on St. Nicholas' Day, and not on the Holy Innocents', and an election on St. Hugh's Day is perfectly consistent with this; in fact, reasoning from analogy it would be more probable that the election should be before the day on which he officiated, and what day more appropriate than that of St. Hugh, himself a boy-bishop? St. Andrew's Day (November 30th) was not in Malim's day

celebrated by the annual football matches that now make it famous, but about this time he says the schoolmaster chooses plays for the boys to act in the ensuing Christmas holidays before an audience in public. He feels it necessary to apologize; "the actor's art is a trifling one, but for action in oratory and proper gestures and movement of the body there is nothing like it." Sometimes they had an English play, if it had point and wit. Probably Plautus and Terence were the staple dramatists, and as we suggested before, probably *Ralph Royster Doyster* was one of the English plays.

From the vigil of St. Thomas' Day (December 20th) to the Epiphany the boys enjoyed their Christmas holidays. They were not entirely idle, for as at Easter on working days they had writing lessons. Whether they had a special master for writing does not appear, but it seems not unlikely. William Oughtred, the mathematician, who was a scholar of Eton and elected in 1592 to King's College, was the son of a man who, according to Aubrey, "taught to write at Eaton, and was a scrivener, and understood common arithmetique, and 'twas no small help and furtherance to his son to be instructed in it when a school boy." In 1611 the College paid "Mr. Owtred 53^{s} vj^{d} for writing and engrossing of y^{e} bookes of accomptes this yeare," which two pieces of evidence point to the above conclusion, and certainly down to the middle nearly of this century there was a special writing master at Eton; perhaps his functions would not be entirely a sinecure nowadays.

Besides the writing lessons the boys, according to Malim, indulged in literary contests of poems and epigrams amongst themselves, the Head Master knowing scarcely anything about it, as they could play if they liked; and he found it sometimes necessary to urge some industrious boy to mingle a little play with his work. Malim's boys seem to have been like the girls at High Schools, whom we are assured it is difficult to prevent overworking themselves. On Christmas Day

there was play all day, and they went to bed immediately after seven, because they used to have to get up between three and four the next day for morning prayers. On all the ensuing holidays till the Epiphany they played in the Hall, to have the benefit of the fire, while on the days that were not holidays they had their evenings free according to custom at the Master's pleasure.

So much for Malim's account of the school routine of his day, which certainly contains much of interest, jejune in many respects though it is; but one would like to have had an account from a boy's point of view to set against it. Moreover, we should have been very glad to have had more particular accounts of the Commensals or Oppidans, who were certainly at this time attending the school, though perhaps not in very large numbers. It is not till 1573, the time at which Malim ceased to be Head Master, that the Audit Books, as we have said, give the names of those dining in Hall; but some years before that date these books do give the total numbers drawing commons at the Scholars' and Choristers' table for each week, and the highest would seem to be about eighty-five, and that would include apparently seventy Scholars, and at least ten Choristers, if not the full number of sixteen, which looks as if the names are not recorded before 1573 because there were none, such boys as attended the instructions of the school boarding with Fellows or private persons and not in Hall.

It is plain that boys did so live; in some early wills of Fellows there is reference to the fact. Thus in the will of Thomas Edgcomb, proved in 1545, occurs the following: "Item I geve unto Hugh Hatche my scholer Twenty Shillings." And in the will of Matthew Page, proved 1582, we read: "Item I give to Thomas Morison my puple fortie shillinge. Item I give to Willm̃ Harrison one of the children of the Colledge fortie shillinge to be paid hym at the next election."

We have also a few references to the life and expenses of Eton boys at this time from other external sources. A letter from William Grene, Usher, to Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms, written in the earlier years of Queen Mary, gives his account for the expenses of Garter's son, Nicholas, and it is noteworthy that the express statutory command of the Founder that instruction should be gratuitous was beginning to be disregarded, for besides the College charges for commons, and for washing, paper, candles, and pocket money, there is a charge of quarter's stipend vj. viij[d].

The commons accounts in the Audit Books are made up quarterly, the first quarter being reckoned from September, so that, as now, the scholastic year was treated as ending at Election. It is perhaps worth noting, as showing how families tend to become Etonian, that about 100 years later, in 1639 or 1640, the name of Dethick occurs again in a Montem list and the Commons Book for that year. A similar reflection may be made in reference to the two next Oppidans of whom we have a particular account, viz., Henry Cavendish and his brother William, first Earl of Devonshire, very many of whose family have since been educated at Eton. These two boys were born in 1550 and 1551 respectively, the sons of Sir William Cavendish, who died in 1557. Their mother married again Sir William St. Loe, who seems to have been a kindly step-father. The boys went to Eton in October, 1560, and appear to have remained there till the end of November, 1561. Their step-father, we may presume, left them there in the Bursar's charge, for he writes to his wife that the Bursar had assured him that "no jentlemen's chyldren in Ingland schalbe bettar welcum, nor bettar loked unto then owre boyes"; and though the spelling is that of a captain of the guard, yet his letter looks as if he had a kind heart. The bill for their year's schooling, as rendered to their mother, has been preserved, and is a very interesting document. On the first day, October 21st, they

were apparently lodging at the inn; they had two sons of Sir Francis Knolles to dinner, and seem to have regaled them with "bread and beare, boylid mutton and pottage, one breast rost mutton, and one lytull chekyn." On October 23rd, with their servant, they began to board and lodge with one Richard Hilles, who charged the boys five shillings a week a head, and their man three shillings and fourpence, with firing extra. This arrangement continued till November 25th, when the boys began to board in College. On October 27th they gave a breakfast costing sixpence to "the cumpanye of formes in the scole, according to the use of the scole," and two days later they had the unusual diversion of seeing "bayre bayting and a camell in the colledge," and paid threepence for it, "as other schollers dyd." They seem to have brought furniture of their own, for there is an entry on November 16th of fourpence for "carryage of the chamber stuff from the warff," and the same sum for "xl. tenter hokes to hang the chamber."

The books they had were Cicero's *De Officiis* and *Atticus*, Æsop's Fables, Lucian's Dialogues, and "The Kynges Grammar," *i.e.* the Latin Grammar of Edward VI.; and there were occasional quires of white paper. There is a curious entry in every quarter of "quarterydge in penne and ynke, brome and byrche vj^{d}." But besides that the chief items are for candles, clothes, and especially shoes, which seem from the number of pairs which they bought to have lasted but a short time. The last items are the carrier's and bargee's charges for carrying their goods to London.

It will be noticed that in both these bills, as in William Pitt's bills in 1719, a charge is made for candles, and it is a curious instance of Eton conservatism that as late as 1848, certainly, "candle-money" was levied on every house, tutor's or dame's, for payment of the lighting of schoolrooms in winter evenings.

Scholars of Eton were in those days probably poor

enough, and in 1569 we find Robert Nowell, of Reade Hall, Lancashire, giving presents to "poor schollers of Dyvers Gramare Scholles," and among others to "Amos Bedforde, scholler of Eaton X.s." Two years later Robert Nowell gave John Harrison, also a scholar of Eton, 3s. 4d., but as he was a cousin it may have been in the nature of a "tip."

Among other Etonians of about this date may be mentioned Sir Thomas Sutton, the Founder of the Charterhouse, who matriculated at St. John's College Cambridge in 1551, and was afterwards a member of Lincoln's Inn. He inherited considerable wealth from his father, and largely increased it by judicious trading in coal mines, as a merchant and financier, and as victualler of the navy at the time of the Armada. After the death of his wife he formed the determination to devote his wealth to some charitable object, and that determination issued in his purchasing, of the Earl of Suffolk for the sum of £13,000, the Charterhouse, and endowing it as a hospital and school with a foundation of Master, Preacher, Schoolmaster, Usher, forty scholars, eighty pensioners, and other officers. Another famous Etonian of another type, who in all probability was actually Malim's pupil, was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. Like Raleigh and other Elizabethan heroes, he distinguished himself as scholar, orator, author, soldier, sailor, and statesman. His knighthood he obtained in 1570, at the hands of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, for his services in suppressing Fitzmaurice's rebellion. He wrote a treatise on the North-West Passage, started the colony of Newfoundland, and was drowned by the foundering of his ship on an exploring expedition on the Canadian coast in 1583. Giles Fletcher, the father of the two poets Giles and Phineas Fletcher, themselves Etonians, and English Ambassador to Russia, and John Cowell, the author of *The Interpreter, or Signification of Law Terms*, are also two Etonians of this age who deserve passing mention.

CHAPTER VI.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND HER VISITS—THE PLAGUE—DEFOIX, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, IN COLLEGE—SIR HENRY SAVILE, PROVOST—HIS PRINTING PRESS AND EDITION OF "ST. CHRYSOSTOM"—COMMENSALS—IRISH BOYS—AMUSEMENTS.

AS one might expect with that intense activity of national life which marked the "spacious times of great Elizabeth," Eton did not subside into a state of peaceful obscurity. In 1559 the Royal Commission, for which Malim's *Consuetudinarium* was no doubt drawn up, was appointed; though it was not till 1561 that the visitation of the College actually took place. Among the Commissioners was William Bill, who was elected a Fellow of the College immediately after the issue of the Commission, and ten days later was elected Provost. He was then Master of Trinity College Cambridge, and a year later was made Dean of Westminster; but he did not enjoy his dignities for long, as he died on July 15th, 1561, and was buried in St. Benedict's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. He left by his will part of his theological library to the College, and also the sum of £40 for providing coverlets for the bed of every Scholar.

Twenty years later Matthew Page, a Fellow, bequeathed the like sum for the purchase of fifteen coverlets of tapestry for "the bedds of the Schollars Collegiate"; and desired that there should be worked upon them the arms

of Eton, King's College, Henry VI., and Elizabeth, with an inscription recording his gift and the couplet—

Qui Leo de Juda est et flos de Jesse, leones
Protegat et flores Elizabetha tuos.

Accordingly the College glazier was paid 18s. "for drawinge the armes that are to be sett in the coverletts given by Doctor Byll and Mr. Page." One result of the election of Dr. Bill, a favourite of the Queen, was to postpone the threatened visitation, and it was not till the Queen and the College came to loggerheads after Bill's death over the appointment of his successor that the Commission was put in force. Meanwhile Protestant changes were made slowly, as we learn from the *Consuetudinarium* obits, or at least some kind of services for the dead were still in force, and prayers for the dead are still implored on epitaphs in the Chapel, though, on the other hand, the Sarum Use was discontinued, the new Communion books purchased, and later the high altar disappeared, the mural paintings were whitewashed over by the College barber, and the Ten Commandments and plain wainscoting substituted for the former adornments of the east end. One indulgence was granted to Eton along with Winchester and the two Universities, namely, that the church services might be performed in Latin for the benefit of the scholars studying that tongue. Prayers were said in College at Eton in the old form in Latin as late as about 1850.

The Queen must have taken some personal interest in the College, for she paid it more than one visit, and Malim and his pupils pestered her with Latin verses. Soon after her accession she was presented with a collection of verses by forty-five young poets, probably enough assisted by their master. The volume in which they are contained is preserved among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, and the compositions are of a complimentary, not to say

fulsomely flattering, order. The keynote of them all is the pious wish that the gods may grant her a husband and children. Later on in the same year Provost Bill thought it his duty to prove his loyalty and gratitude by sending another collection of the same kind, which, whether or not they passed from the Queen to Mr. Secretary Cecil, are now reposing among Lord Salisbury's MSS. at Hatfield. In this or the next year the Queen paid a visit to the school, for there is a payment in the Audit Book "for fyve burthens of russhes to strewe Mr. Durston's chamber against the Quene's commynge," and another "to two cooks of Westmynster for helping in the kytchin," which was no doubt for her entertainment.

On the death of Dr. Bill the Fellows determined to elect a Provost themselves according to their statutory rights, so they proceeded to choose and instal Richard Bruerne, who had been a Fellow, and with the statutory qualifications was a man of learning, though not of piety, for he had been obliged to resign the Regius professorship of Hebrew at Oxford on account of a scandalous outrage on morals. The triumph of the Fellows was, however, short-lived, for the Queen was not disposed to stand any nonsense, and immediately despatched a letter to Archbishop Parker, ordering the long-delayed visitation of the College to take place. The Archbishop and two of his fellow-commissioners proceeded to Eton in all haste. They sat in the Chapel and the Provost's lodgings on September 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1561, and summoned before them the members of the College. Three Fellows, Thomas Kirton, John Ashebroke, and Richard Pratte, and one of the Conducts, Reginald Legge, refused to appear, and were deprived for their notorious contumacy. John Durston, another Fellow, though he appeared, refused to take the oath of supremacy, and was deprived on that ground. The Provost saved himself from actual deprivation by resigning, and was, with the consent

of the Fellows, awarded £10 by the commissioners as compensation for his labours in transacting certain College business. Parker and Grindal, Bishop of London, submitted several names of candidates for the Provostship to the Queen through Sir William Cecil, and eventually the Queen chose William Day, an Etonian and Kingsman, who had been elected a Fellow of Eton the previous year. He was a brother of George Day, who had been Provost of Kings, and "as rigid a Papist as William was a zealous Protestant." Sir John Harrington, the author of the *Nugae Antiquae*, who was at Eton in his time, describes him as "a man of good nature, affable, and courteous, and at his table and in other conversation pleasant, yet always sufficiently retaining his gravity," and says that he had "a good plain fashion of preaching apt to edify, and easy to remember." In 1563 the plague was raging in London with mortal severity, and the Queen took refuge at Windsor, accompanied by Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, and Robert Dudley and his brother. Malim's scholars saluted her again with verses, some of an elaborate acrostical character. In other specimens, as the author of *Etoniana* says, "Some ingenuity has been misemployed in those reversible verses which will scan and construe equally well when read backwards or forwards, and make equally poor sense either way. They are a curious instance of what sort of flattery was thought most likely to be agreeable to the maiden Queen, and what the popular belief was as to her relations with Robert Dudley. There are elaborate eulogies on both the brothers, and fulsome commendations of Robert's personal beauty, which Her Majesty the writers hope and believe will find irresistible."

The volume is prefaced by four lines of Greek from Malim's pen, and a prose preface in Latin, probably his also, though professing to be written by his scholars, praying the Queen to mark her appreciation of their master and the excellent instruction he imparted, as evidenced by their

verses, by finding him some preferment as a haven for his declining years. But Malim was a great beater and worthy successor in that of Udall, and, doubtless, his scholars hoped to profit by a change.

Harwood, in his account of Walter Haddon, a famous Etonian scholar and jurist of the day, tells a curious story in this connection. During this time, when the Court was at Windsor, Sir William Cecil was giving a dinner party, at which were present, among others, Haddon and Roger Ascham. Cecil remarked that he had heard that morning that several Eton scholars had run away on account of their master's severity, which he condemned as a great fault in those who had the education of youth. The company took different sides in the dispute, Haddon saying that the best schoolmaster then in England was the greatest beater, while Ascham retorted that if it were so it was owing to the boys' parts and not to their master's beating, which often did much harm and seldom if ever any good. This very sound reflection so struck Sir Richard Sackville, who was present, that he took Ascham aside afterwards and proposed to him to draw up rules of education for the benefit of his own son and grandson, which resulted in Ascham writing his famous book, *The Schoolmaster*.

The plague reached Eton before long, and some of the boys caught it. They were sent off to the tenant of the College at Cippenham, who was bound by a condition in his lease to take in six scholars free of charge for a quarter, with reasonable compensation for their maintenance if they were there longer. This estate had just come into the possession of the College, and the condition was always inserted in every renewal of the lease down to the building of the present Sanatorium in 1844. The Audit Books of this year record several payments in connection with the matter, for cleaning the house at Cippenham, "for strawe for the children beddes," and so forth.

At the end of 1563 and beginning of 1564 the College suffered considerable inconvenience from the presence of De Foix, the French Ambassador. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the English Ambassador in France, had been imprisoned by Charles IX., and Elizabeth retorted by sending De Foix into semi-custody at Eton. The College seems to have had to perform this sort of function before, for in 1546 the Privy Council committed to the custody of the Vice-Provost and Bursars for safe keeping John Maxwell, younger son of Lord Maxwell, a Scotch prisoner, and with his brother Robert, joint bondsman for his father. De Foix, however, got on very badly with the Provost. He very much resented having to comply with the College rules, and on December 30th, 1563, matters came to a climax with De Foix entertaining guests in his room till after the College gates had been closed for the night and the keys taken to the Provost. The Ambassador sent first his servant and then his secretary with his guests for the keys, but the Provost firmly refused to give them up and locked his outer door. Thereupon De Foix and the secretary returned, broke open the Provost's door, and with swords in their hands dragged out the Provost, making use of very violent language and threats, and the Provost, seeing resistance was useless, handed over the keys. The next day each party went off to complain of the other's conduct to Sir William Cecil. De Foix got there first and told his tale, but Mr. Secretary, probably suspecting the true state of the case, "answered that he would send for the Provost and hear him also, and if it should appear that he used himself otherwise than became him he should bear the blame." De Foix, going out, met the Provost coming in, and their respective servants came to fighting with swords, but without doing each other much harm.

The Provost, after his interview with the Secretary of State, retired home to formulate his complaints in writing, and if they were well founded he certainly had good cause

for demanding the removal of the Ambassador and his suite. The suite were accused of introducing women of loose character into the College, and of trying to corrupt the boys' morals. The page appears to have played practical jokes on the door locks, and to have made insulting remarks to the Fellows; while the men in the kitchen, which was under the Usher's chamber, amused themselves by thrusting spits through the joints in the boards, or discharging pistols at them, and made such a noise at night that they disturbed the Usher and Fellows. They broke out on to the College leads and cut the lead away to shoot in their guns, which they employed in killing game in the surrounding fields, and when this amusement palled they threw bricks "at the Schollers as they passed between the Schole and the fieldes," which not only made the scholars complain, but spoilt the College bricks. However, the Provost was successful and the Ambassador was at once removed.

The headmastership of Eton was clearly at this date neither a very lucrative post in itself nor a step to high ecclesiastical position, as headmasterships have often been in modern times. The men who held it were often quite young and sometimes not in orders. In 1563 Malim resigned, and of his four immediate successors three were laymen. Reuben Sherwood, elected about 1571, was a physician, and retired after a few years to practise at Bath, where he died. Thomas Ridley afterwards became a Master in Chancery, Chancellor to the Bishop of Winchester, and Vicar-General of the Province of Canterbury; and John Hammond (1583) was also a physician of some repute in his day.

One change in the constitution of the College of far-reaching importance was made in 1566 by Elizabeth. In that year she dispensed the Fellows from the express provision of the statutes, that they were not to hold any other ecclesiastical preferment with a fellowship. The pleas

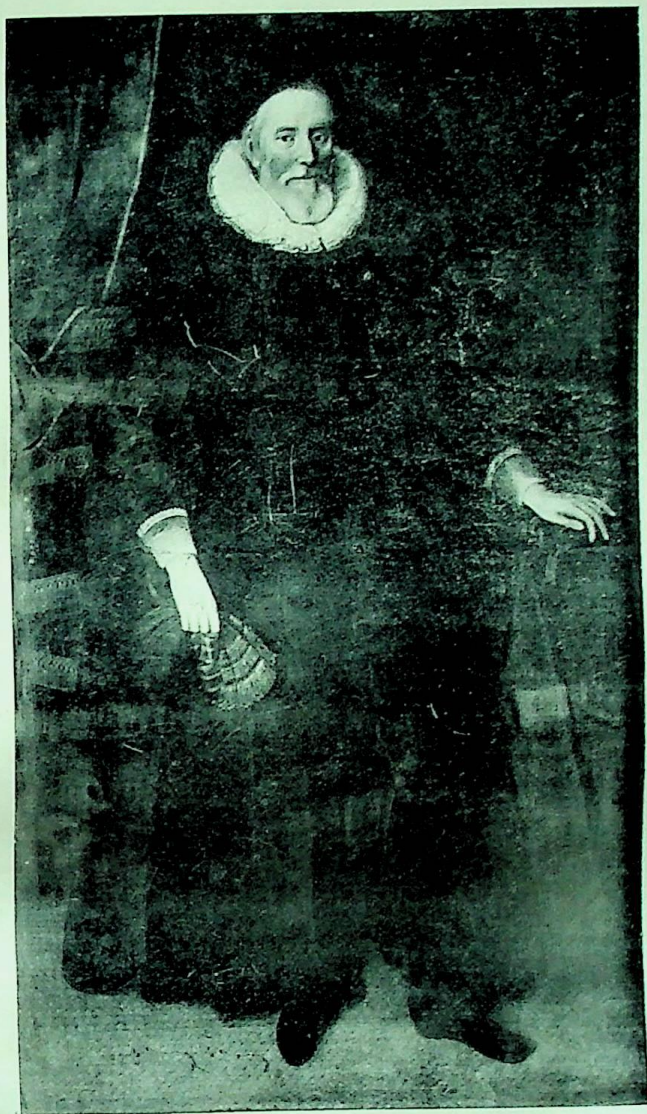
alleged for the change were, firstly, the increase in the price of living, and secondly, the convenience of the Fellows having cures abroad, where they might inform the Queen's subjects in their duties to God and the Queen. The immediate result was to make the number of vacancies very much smaller, and the stagnation thereby induced contributed very largely to bring about the state of things that led to the reforms of the Public Schools Commission.

Provost Day was made Bishop of Winchester in 1595, and thereupon resigned the provostship; but he died before he had held the see many months. Between 1569 and 1592 the Queen paid several visits to the College, which are not otherwise known of than from entries in the Audit Books for expenditure in receiving her. In 1596 she was there again, and it is to this visit that the inscription on the Hall panelling refers, of which mention has been made in describing that building. Her last visit appears to have been in August or September, 1601. The College still seems to have got the annual cask of red Gascon wine granted by the Founder, though Gascony had long ceased to be an appanage of the Crown. In later times an annual money allowance was substituted.

In 1601 the Duc de Biron, the Ambassador sent by Henry IV. of France to announce his marriage with Mary de Medicis, visited Eton in state, and was addressed in a Latin speech by John Wilson, who, "though the smallest boy in the school, had been made a præpostor." If Master Wilson was not a very great prig, he was no doubt pleased with the three angels which the Duke bestowed on him, even if his schoolfellows did not allow him the spending of the whole of the sum. Three years later John Wilson became a scholar of King's College, and in later life, after being a student of law, became a minister and one of the Puritan Colonists of New England.

On the resignation of Provost Day the Crown took good

care that its privileges should be respected, and claimed the right of appointing his successor, both on the ground that it was entitled to fill every benefice vacated by a newly-chosen bishop, and also on the ground that it had always exercised the right under all circumstances. Elizabeth made an appointment excellent in itself, though Henry Savile, her choice, did not possess the statutory qualifications. Savile, one of the most learned English scholars of his day, had been already for ten years Warden of Merton College Oxford, and he continued till his death to hold both offices. He had himself instructed Elizabeth in Greek and mathematics, and there have been few Provosts who took more interest in the discipline and instruction of the school.

Savile was a lover of books as well as a scholar, and one of his earliest acts as Provost was to take the Eton Library in hand. It was at this time situated in what has been since known as "Lower Master's Chamber," and is at the present day the Provost's kitchen, on the ground-floor under the eastern end of Long Chamber. Besides being defective in books the Library was also defective in furniture, and Savile's first proceeding was to despatch the College carpenter to Oxford to view the fittings of the Bodleian Library, which had then been lately founded. He further persuaded the College to spend every year considerable sums in the purchase and binding of books. Savile was one of the forty-seven scholars employed on the authorized translation of the Bible, and it is in accordance with this that we find a large portion of the books purchased was theological; and as illustrating the catholicity of Savile's taste we may note that they include the works of French, Spanish, and Italian scholars. A certain number of classical books and commentaries were also bought. They were brought from London by river, and the disbursements include payments for customs and wharfage and to watermen. There are frequent payments "for ryvitinge of chaines,"

SIR HENRY SAVILE, 13TH PROVOST

FROM THE PORTRAIT PROBABLY BY CORNELIS JANSSENS IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

for this inconvenient system of frustrating the book borrower lasted till 1719, when they were removed from all the books, "excepting the Founder's manuscripts," by a College resolution; no doubt in anticipation of the building of the new library, which was resolved upon as early as 1720, though it was not till 1728 that it was carried out, and then in another form from that originally intended.

James I. came to Windsor the year after his accession, and he seems to have been expected at Eton, for there are payments in the Audit Book for preparations made, including a payment for sand and gravel, which seems to have been usual when a royal visitor was expected, and suggests that the paths about the College and Playing Fields were generally in a bad state. It seems doubtful, however, whether the King actually came this year, but he did so the next, and was entertained at a banquet in the Provost's Hall, and after it was over knighted Savile, the only honour or preferment which the Provost would accept. It did not, however, content Lady Savile, a lady of uncertain temper and jealous disposition, who complained that the favour came too late, and was not worthy of her. She threatened on one occasion to burn the great edition of St. John Chrysostom that Savile was at work upon, and on another is reported to have said to him, "Sir Henry, I would I were a book too, and then you would a little more respect me." But there were probably faults on both sides, for some of his contemporaries have described Savile as of a jealous disposition and severe temper, and have accused him of a haughty manner towards men of letters, who were not his equals by birth, and of thinking himself as great a scholar as Scaliger. Even his friend Casaubon says of him that it was "his custom to kick all men generally considered learned, and to treat them as asses on two legs."

Lady Savile was Margaret, daughter of George Dacres of Cheshunt, and widow of George, second son of Sir William

Gerrard of Dorney. She brought her husband a considerable fortune, and as well as her one daughter Elizabeth survived him. This daughter married the son of Sir William Sedley, and was the mother of the well-known Sir Charles Sedley. No doubt the Commensal named Dacres, whose name appears about 1598–1600, was a relative of Lady Savile.

Savile was unpopular at Eton, because he promoted those who were not Kingsmen and maintained very strict discipline among the boys. He disliked erratic genius and distrusted natural abilities. "Give me the plodding student," was a saying of his; "if I would look for wits I would go to Newgate—there be the wits." In fact, he seems to have been much of the opinion of a learned County Court judge, who once said in a lecture to the students of the Inns of Court, "If any of you are not men of genius, and I hope you are not, but are industrious, plodding men, then the condition of our law spread over many hundred volumes should give you the greatest encouragement. Industry will master its chief decisions, reading them again and again with self distrust; while genius will neglect them, or in haste misapprehend them." Fortunately genius will be little troubled by the pronouncements of either pedagogue. John Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, is said to have been the only man recommended to Savile as a wit that received his patronage.

But the works of Savile that live after him and constitute his more enduring title to fame deserve mention. On the death of his only son he resolved to devote his time and his fortune to the service of letters and science. With the latter object he founded, in 1619, at Oxford, the two Savilian professorships of Geometry and Astronomy, and liberally endowed them. Savile himself had considerable reputation as a geometrician, and though he may have been inferior to Scaliger in classical learning, was by common consent his

superior in mathematics. In the preamble of the deed constituting the professorship he remarks that geometry was almost totally unknown and abandoned in England.

Savile was the author of a translation of Tacitus, which served to elicit the praise of Ben Jonson, and a treatise on Roman warfare, which once enjoyed a European reputation. But he is now best known in the domain of letters for his great edition of the works of St. John Chrysostom, the preparation of which occupied a great part of his life, though it brought him in no pecuniary profit. "Learning," says Fuller, "hath gained most by those books by which the printers have lost," and instances, "our worthy English knight, who set forth the golden-mouthed father in a silver print, was a loser by it." That Savile was a loser one does not wonder when one reads of the labours he underwent and the expenses he entered into to make his edition correct as well as complete. He had purchased many MSS. abroad in the course of his travels, but he found them insufficient when he set to work, and he employed scholars all over Europe in making collations for him. The King helped him by issuing orders to his Ambassadors to assist Savile's copyists and agents. Casaubon, De Thou, and Le Duc, whom Fuller, probably without justification, accuses of stealing Savile's proof sheets to bring out, in Paris, an edition of his own, all gave their help. Among English scholars who assisted were the "ever-memorable" John Hales, Thomas Allen, Fellows of Eton; John Boys, Richard Montagu, and Matthew Bust, who will be mentioned again later. When the time came for printing Savile resolved to have it done under his own eye by the most competent workman of the day. He secured the services of John Norton, the King's printer, and established him at Eton in one end of the range of buildings in Weston's Yard, till lately used as the Head Master's house, which had just been erected. The other end of those buildings, as we have

said before, was used for granaries, storerooms, and for dormitories for the Clerks, Commensals, and others. A fount of Greek type, known as the "silver letter," was procured from Holland in default of the Royal French type which Savile tried to obtain, and the Eton press first produced two small Greek books in quarto. They were published in 1610, and consisted of the *Duae Invectivae* of St. Gregory Nazianzen against the Emperor Julian, edited by Richard Montagu from manuscripts in Savile's Library; and secondly, of the *Versus Iambici* of John, the Metropolitan of Euchaitis, "composed for the painted stories of the chief feasts and various other occasions." The latter was edited by Matthew Bust. Montagu and Bust were both young Kingsmen and scholars of repute, whom Savile patronized. Montagu subsequently became Fellow of Eton and Bishop successively of Chichester and of Norwich. Bust was the son of a Fellow and Vice-Provost of Eton of the same name, and was afterwards Head Master. The issue of *St. Chrysostom* began in 1610, and the eight volumes folio to which it extended were completed in 1613. With the last volume were presented to the subscribers eight engraved title-pages for insertion in each volume, and a preface to the whole, the result of which is that copies may be met with that lack the engraved titles. These titles are interesting for one thing, that they present a view of Eton before the Upper School was built, when a low wall shut in School Yard at that end, a view which also appears in colour on Savile's tomb in Merton College Chapel, and is reproduced opposite page 87. The original price of the book to the subscribers was £9, one thousand copies being offered to the public; but it seems to have sold slowly, and the price at which certain copies bequeathed to the College by Savile were sold was considerably smaller than the subscription price. The whole cost to the editor is said to have been over £8000. Presentation copies were sent to the Signory

of Venice and the States of the Netherlands, and in return the Republic of Venice had a medal engraved with his name, and the United Provinces presented him with a chain worth £40. The Elector Palatine also made him a present of plate in recognition of his services to literature.

Savile's own copy of the book with his autograph is now in the possession of Mr. Arthur Goodford, of Chilton Cantelo, Somerset.

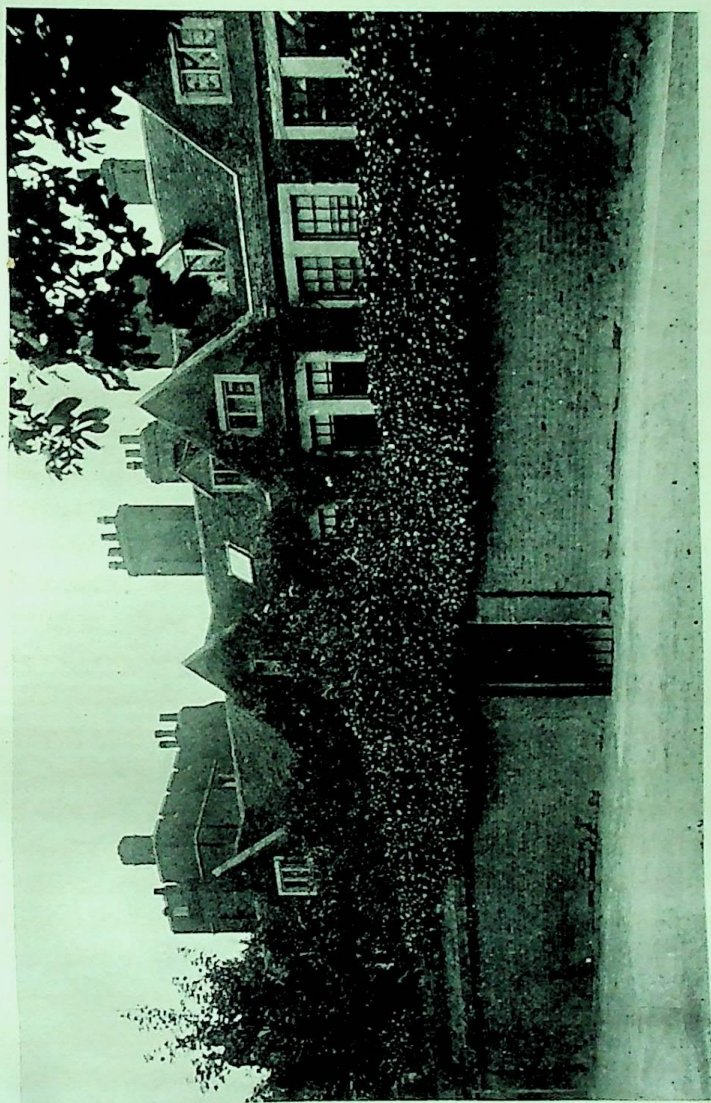
Three more books issued from Savile's press, all probably intended for use in the school; they were the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, the *Oration* of St. Gregory Nazianzen *On the Nativity of Christ*, both published in 1613, and the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, which is undated, but probably belongs to the same year. There appears also to have been a *Davidis Regis Prophetae etc per Theophilum Cangeserum Saxo-Halensem* printed in 1611, though not mentioned by Beloe. With these the history of Eton printing closes till the time of Joseph Pote in the next century.

After Savile's death the University of Oxford purchased his Greek types, while the matrices from which they were cast seem to have been presented by Savile to the University in his lifetime.

Savile took a high view of his duties as Provost both to the school and the College. Several of the books from his press were intended, as we have said, for use in the school, and it was probably due to him that the Eton Greek Grammar, which was in use at Eton till modern times, and was compiled in its original form by William Camden, Head Master of Westminster, was originally introduced. His reputation was no doubt the cause of the great increase of the Commensals about this time, as shown by their names in the Audit Books and payments to the College carpenter for lengthening their table in Hall. Meric Casaubon, son of the great scholar, obtained a place on the foundation in 1610 by the influence of his father's friend. He became later a student of Christ

Church and was ordained, and after holding various preferments died Canon of Canterbury in 1671, and was buried in the Cathedral. There is a portrait of him in the University Gallery at Oxford. In 1613 there were as many as a hundred candidates for scholarships, a number which has probably not been exceeded till modern times—a proof, if it were needed, that in the seventeenth century the Collegers were not treated in so different a fashion from the Oppidans as prevailed immediately before the abolition of Long Chamber.

Among the Commensals whose names appear in the Audit Books about this time are those of Lord Wriothesley, afterwards Earl of Chichester, who drew commons of bread and beer for himself and page during 1613 to 1615, but does not appear to have dined in Hall. Con O'Neil, son of the great Hugh O'Neil, second Earl of Tyrone, left behind by his father in his flight in 1607, was brought into England to be educated as a Protestant, and as some sort of hostage for his father's good behaviour. He was at Eton from 1615 to 1622, and dined regularly in Hall. The Government paid his bills, which came to some £90 a year. One of these bills, from Christmas to Lady-day, 1617, was exhibited at the Eton Exhibition in 1891, and was then in the possession of Francis Hopkinson, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. He appears to have had an upper chamber in the building in Weston's Yard, for which the Head Master paid the College the rent of £3 a year. This semi-captivity at Eton was exchanged later for a straiter prison in the Tower, where the poor boy died, it would seem, shortly after his incarceration.

Another Irish boy who was at Eton in 1601 and 1602 was "Lord Brian," no doubt Henry O'Brien, who succeeded as sixth Earl of Thomond in 1624, and matriculated at Brasenose College Oxford on 20th February, 1604–5, aged 16, under the style of "Baro de Bryken," *i.e.*, Ibracken. He was a man of some note in the Irish politics of his day, and died without male issue in 1637.

HOUSE IN WESTON'S YARD

BUILT IN 1603—6 FOR SIR HENRY SAVILE'S PRINTING PRESS

Other well-known names that occur are those of Gorges, Somerset, Bampfylde, Knollys, Varney, Bartie, Percy, Gervas, Savile, Knatchbull, St. John, and so on. In 1622 Lord Dormer and his brother William Dormer were dining in Hall, and paying nine shillings a week beside for the bread and beer of their "companie." In 1624 Lord Willoughby of Parham and his brother William, afterwards the patentees of the Caribbean Islands, were boys at Eton, and a year later the well-known Lord Wharton.

In 1619 one Terence Brien, another Irish boy, no doubt a scion of the great house of O'Brien, possibly son of Mortagh, Bishop of Killaloe, was at school at Eton. His name does not occur in the Audit Books, but in that year he is described as "at Eaton Schoole" in his petition to the Privy Council for their assistance in recovering "threescore pounds or thereabouts in monye besides other things sent him" out of Ireland by the hand of one Mortagh Hogan, who was shipwrecked on the coast of North Wales with Lord Thurles, the inhabitants of the district having stripped the bodies thrown ashore and plundered the rest of the wreck.

Nor must one omit to mention Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, who, on his father's beheading in 1601, was sent at the age of nine to Eton and particularly entrusted to Savile's care, who had been an intimate friend of his father. The boy, however, did not stay long, for in 1602 he was removed to Merton College, where a room in the Warden's lodgings was assigned to him, and Savile took pains to see that he "was learnedly and religiously educated."

Some ten years later Edmund Waller, the poet, was an Eton boy, but he, like Essex, cannot have boarded in Hall, as his name does not occur in the Audit Books. He was the son of Robert Waller, a gentleman of Agmondesham, who died during his infancy, leaving him the very handsome fortune for those days of £3500 per annum. He was afterwards at King's, probably as a Fellow-Commoner, and

actually sat in Parliament for his native place at the early age of eighteen.

Occasionally in some external way one can identify these boys named in the Audit Books. For instance, there is extant among the State Papers a letter of Dudley Carleton, written in the Christmas holidays of 1608, saying of Philip, younger son of Sir Rowland Lytton, of Knebworth:—"Phil. Litton is well and in commons in the Hall, though all his camarades be dispersed. His schoolmaster made a complaint unto me that he was too daintie-mouthed and could eat no beefe, but he answeares the matter well. *Verum est.* When I was at Mr. Alden's, I had better meat." From which one thing is clear, that at that date the eternal mutton of the unreformed days before the forties was not the rule in Hall. But it is only very occasionally that the Audit Books themselves give even the Christian names, and though identity of names with those of members or officers of the College or College tenants may in some cases suggest that the boys were their sons or relatives, it is impossible to be sure. The distinction between Commensals of the second and third table was maintained, though there were many more at the second. The board of the former cost 5s. 6d. a week, that of the latter 3s. 6d. Besides the sons of noblemen and landed gentry, it seems that the merchants and traders of London were beginning to send their sons to the school. The entry books of several of the Cambridge Colleges begin about this time or rather earlier to note the rank, parentage, and school of their undergraduates, and in this way Etonians of the class named may be found.

In 1603 and two or three following years there was an outbreak of the plague, or as the Audit Books call it, "the infection," at Eton, with the result that for several years the Commensals almost disappear, and it was not till about 1614 that they again approached their old numbers.

Of the amusements of the boys at this date we know

nothing. It was a great time for the building of tennis courts at Cambridge, and there was one at Eton in 1600–1, in which year there was a payment made for "tyling it"; but where it was situated, or whether it was for the benefit of the boys or only the senior members of the College, it is impossible to say.

That boys sometimes spent their time in less wholesome amusement than tennis appears from a quaint entry in the Audit Book for 1618–19, where the Bursar credits:—

> "Receaved out of the wages of Richard Coxe Brewer xxv^{s}, and of John Smyth, second cook, x^{s}, being a mulct imposed upon them by Mr. Provost in August last for entertayneing schollers in their howses in the towne contrarie to the will of their tutors and suffering them to mispend theire tyme and monie there."

In 1617 Sir Henry Savile fell seriously ill, and with somewhat indecent haste several aspirants to the reversion of his office, including Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Dudley Carleton, were asking the King for it, and not thinking it amiss to try and enlist Savile himself on their behalf. Eventually Thomas Murray, who had been tutor and secretary to the Prince of Wales, obtained the promise of it; but he had to wait in the event till 1622, when Savile died, and was buried in the Chapel. There is a passage in the *State Papers* saying that he was buried by torchlight to save expense, though he left £200 for his funeral. His portrait, presented to the College by his widow, now hangs in the dining-room of the Provost's Lodge. It is a fine picture, representing him in black robes with a ruff, a handsome, sanguine man, with pointed beard and humorous smile.

CHAPTER VII.

PROVOST MURRAY—SIR HENRY WOTTON—IZAAK WALTON—COMPETITION FOR SCHOLARSHIPS—ROBERT BOYLE'S SCHOOLDAYS—COMMENSALS—JOHN HALES, THE EVER MEMORABLE.

A WEEK before Savile's death James I., for fear the Fellows should dare to exercise their statutory rights, sent them a letter bidding them suspend election to the provostship till his pleasure should be known. On February 23rd, 1622, the King issued his mandate to the Fellows to elect Thomas Murray, and a dispensation from the statutory qualifications.

Murray had few of those qualifications; he was not in orders, he had no University degree, and he was not even an Englishman. He was the son of Murray of Woodend, and descended from a younger son of the family of Dollarie, a branch of the house of Tullibardine, and was uncle of William Murray, first Earl of Dysart, whom he introduced at Court, and who speedily became very intimate with his pupil Prince Charles.

Thomas Murray had already had several places and other rewards from the King, but wanted the provostship besides. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, the College Visitor, was bold enough to protest. He argued that the provostship, as involving a cure of souls, was altogether different from a deanery or hospital, for which the King might grant a dispensation to laymen. The King had in fact already done

that much for Murray in 1606, when he collated him to the mastership of Sherburn Hospital, near Durham. Bishop Williams further hinted that Murray was none too favourable to the Established Church; but it was of no avail, and the Fellows followed the royal orders and elected Murray. The only victory that Williams won, and that a somewhat technical one, consisted in finding several informalities in the election, and insisting on the Fellows holding it over again, being at the same time particular to call "the King's gracious letters letters of recomandacons and not mandates."

This small success emboldened the Bishop to try another fall with the College; he tried to force his chaplain, John Hacket, into a vacant fellowship, and the failure in this attempt so enraged him that he threatened the Fellows for the breach of the statutes in holding livings along with their fellowships, and in not electing the statutory number of Fellows. The Fellows pleaded Elizabeth's dispensation, and that they had no objection, if the College lands taken by Edward IV. were restored, to increasing their number; and in the event the Bishop had to give way.

Murray only lived to enjoy his honours just over a year, dying on April 9th, 1623, aged 59, from the effects of an operation for the stone. His monument, just within the altar rails against the north wall of the Chapel, is a conspicuous object. The Head Master from 1611–30 was Matthew Bust. As has been mentioned before he was the son of a Fellow of the College, and had helped Sir Henry Savile in his literary labours. He seems, in his long reign of nineteen years, to have been a successful schoolmaster, and justified Savile's patronage, otherwise the school which the Registers of Caius College Cambridge style "*celebre illud humaniorum literarum gymnasium*" would hardly have been so popular as we know it was.

The death of Provost Murray was followed by a long and eager contest for his office; in fact, the struggle began

even before his death, when news reached London that he was hopelessly ill. Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Dudley Carleton, the diplomatists; Sir William Beecher, Clerk to the Privy Council; Sir Robert Ayton, formerly Secretary to Queen Elizabeth; Sir Ralph Freeman, Master of the Court of Requests; Sir Albert Morton, nephew of Sir Henry Wotton and Secretary of State; and the ex-Chancellor, Lord St. Albans himself, formed a distinguished group of candidates.

They all recognized that the good word of the Marquis of Buckingham, who was then with Prince Charles on the famous journey to Spain, was all-powerful, and it is somewhat pitiful to read Bacon's letters to Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, assuring Conway that Buckingham would support his candidature, and telling him "I am much comforted by your last letter, whearin I fynd that his M[ajesty] of his great goodnesse vouchesafeth to have a care of me, a man owt of sight and owt of use. . . . Thear will hardly fall (specially in the spent howreglasse of such a life as myne) anything so fitt for me, being a retreat to a place of study so near London, and whear (if I sell my house at Gorhambury, as I purpose to doe to putt myself into some convenient plenty) I may be accomodated of a dwelling for the summer tyme."

But Bacon seems never to have had a chance; the Lord Keeper Williams wrote to Buckingham, in Spain, that the place was "stayed by the Fellows and myself until your lordship's pleasure be known. . . . It will rest wholly with your lordship to name the man. . . . It is somewhat necessary to be a good scholar, but more that he be a good husband and a careful manager, and a stayed man, which no man can be that is so much indebted as my Lord St. Albans."

Buckingham returned to England in October, 1623, and was at once besieged by the rival candidates; but it was not till July in the next year, fifteen months after Murray's

death, that the royal mandamus was at last issued in favour of Sir Henry Wotton, who was, however, obliged to surrender to Sir Ralph Freeman his reversion to the Mastership of the Rolls.

Sir Henry Wotton was one of the most distinguished men that have held this post, and is the better known from being one of the subjects of Izaak Walton's *Lives*.

He was born in 1568, at Boughton Malherbe, in Kent, of an ancient family of some distinction; son of Thomas Wotton and Eleanora his wife, widow of Robert Morton, a Kentish gentleman, and daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in Kent. He was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. At Oxford he remained till his twenty-second year, forming there a friendship with Dr. Donne, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and another friend of Izaak Walton. He spent the next nine years of his life in travel in France, Germany, and Italy, forming a friendship with the unfortunate Earl of Essex, whose secretary he became. On the disgrace of Essex Wotton hurriedly left the country, but was sent for home by King James, given a knighthood, and despatched with some magnificence as Ambassador to the Venetian Republic. His nephew, Sir Albert Morton, an Etonian and Kingsman, accompanied him as secretary. There is a story told of him by Walton, on his journey to Venice, which we shall take leave to quote. "At his first going Ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusta, where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness—those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation, with whom he passed an evening in merriments—was requested by Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo—a book of white paper which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them—and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion from some accidental discourse of

the present company to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassador in these very words: '*Legatus est vir bonus, peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causâ.*'" This somewhat undiplomatic frankness seems to have got Wotton into trouble with his royal master, and to have given occasion to his enemies in Venice some years later.

On his return on this occasion from Venice Wotton appears to have been in Parliament. He was again on two later occasions sent as Ambassador to Venice, and also performed diplomatic missions to the United Provinces, to Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, to various German Princes, and to the Emperor Ferdinand II. The last was to carry on the negotiations for the restoration of "his dear mistress, the Queen of Bohemia," to the Palatinate, which preceded and were put an end to by the battle of Prague. It was to this Princess, the daughter of James I., that Wotton wrote the well-known poem beginning—

"You meaner beauties of the night."

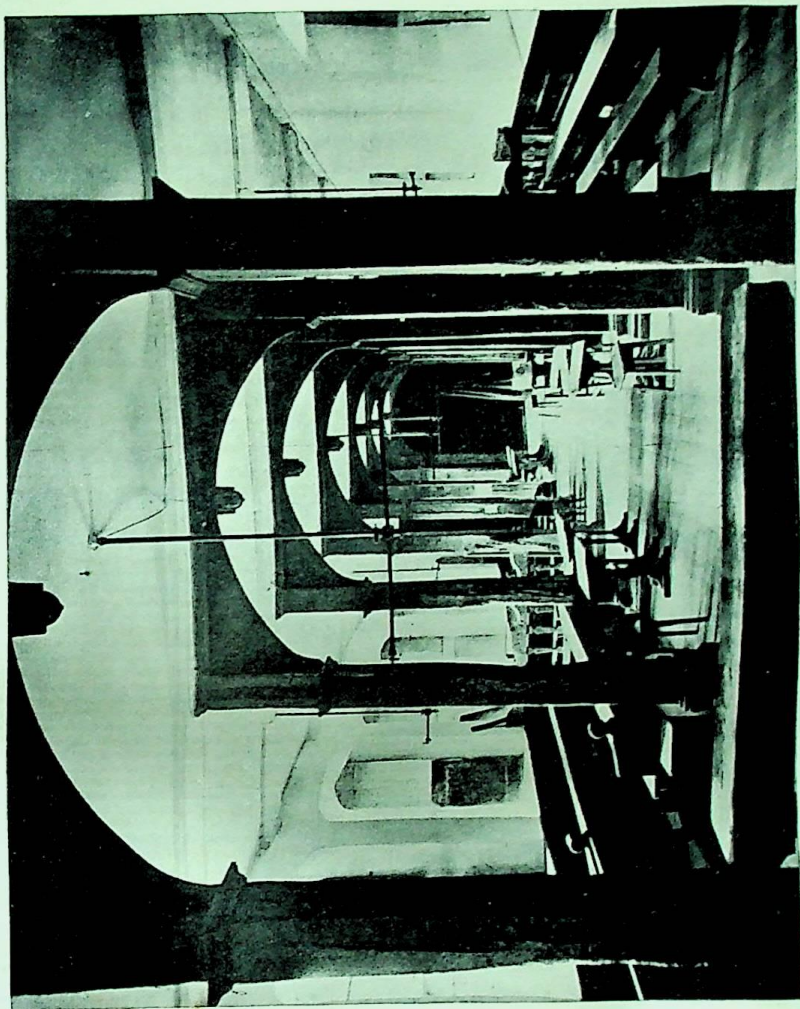
No doubt many of the MSS. in the Library, which were left by Wotton to the College, came from Venice, and there is also another relic of his sojourn there in the shape of a curious birdseye view of that city painted on panel that hangs in Election Hall, and was presented by him as Provost to the College in 1636. Wotton was in some pecuniary straits when he was elected Provost; he was unable to get arrears of salary owing him from the King, he had parted with the annuity left him by his father, and he was besides, as Walton says, "always so careless of money as though our Saviour's words 'Care not for to-morrow' were to be literally understood."

The want of these arrears, in Wotton's own words, "wrinkled his face with care," and he had to trust to a grant of money from the College for the furnishing of his lodgings. However, the interest at Court of his friend Nicholas Pey

at last procured him payment, and being settled in the College, where, as Walton says, "he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock as the waves of want could not possibly shake, his first study was the statutes of the College; by which he conceived himself bound to enter into Holy Orders, which he did, being made Deacon with all convenient speed." In point of fact the taking of deacon's orders was not a sufficient compliance with the statutes, though it seems to have satisfied Wotton, and was certainly more than his two predecessors had done. But the evasion of statutes seems to have reached the dignity of an art in this age; it is curious to read in Wotton's letters his apology to a friend for not having been able to elect to a scholarship a boy born of English parents in Holland, on the ground that it was the fault of the boy's father, who had told his son, when asked where he was born, to answer "*In comitatu Hollandiae*," disregarding the advice of the Usher who had instructed him that by no means he should confess his foreign birth. Moreover, if there was one statute more than another neglected at this time it was statute IV., forbidding the College in electing Scholars to have any regard to "the instances, prayers, or requests of kings, queens, princes, prelates, great men, nobles, or anyone else." Wotton in 1629 writes to his friend John Dineley, "We have newly concluded our Anniversary business, which hath been the most distracted Election that I verily believe had ever before been seen since this Nurse first gave Milk, through no less than four recommendatory, and one mandatory Letter from the King himself; besides Intercessions and Messengers from divers great Personages for Boys both in and out, enough to make us think ourselves shortly Electors of the Empire, if it hold on. Among which Confusions I did not forget to put Sir G. Kevet's Son in the head of our List." The year before he writes, "We have passed over *quocunque modo* the most troublesome

Election that I think was ever seen. Wherein according to my usual Fashion I have lost four or five friends."

However, Wotton took great interest in the school and its welfare. Walton says of him, "He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning; for whose encouragement he was—besides many other things of necessity and beauty—at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin Historians, Poets, and Orators, persuading them not to neglect Rhetoric, because 'Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon.' And he would often say 'that none despised Eloquence but such dull souls as were not capable of it.' He would also often make choice of some observations out of those Historians and Poets, and would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar. He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of Education; of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity." The two rows of pillars referred to by Walton are those in Lower School, but they must have been set up to support the floor above, even if they did support also the pictures that Walton mentions, which have long ago disappeared.

The personal interest which he took in individual boys appears also from Wotton's letters and Robert Boyle's fragmentary autobiography. Wotton, writing to his friend, John Dineley, who was secretary to the Queen of Bohemia, tells

LOWER SCHOOL

him that his little Anthony prospers extremely well, that he is his guest every Saturday night, and is well grown in stature and more in knowledge. And on another occasion, "I could wish you at some times to quicken your Anthony here with a line or two, which in Persius' phrase, *Patruum sapiant.* Not truly that I perceive any slackness in him, but you know what our Italian horsemen say, *Un Caval del Reguo vuol anche gli sproni.*"

Boyle, in his *Account of Philaretus during his Minority*, under which name he designates himself, tells us something of his school life in and about 1635. In that year, at the age of eight, he was sent over by his father, first Earl of Cork, from Ireland in company with his elder brother Francis, afterwards created Lord Shannon, "to be bred up at Eton College, near Windsor, whose Provost at that time was Sir Henry Wotton, a person that was not only a fine gentleman himself, but very well skilled in the art of making others so, betwixt whom and the earl of Corke an ancient friendship had been constantly cultivated by reciprocal civilities." The two boys were recommended specially to Wotton's care, but were also left in the charge of a private tutor, who, however, says Boyle, "wanted neither vices nor cunning to dissemble them," being addicted to gambling and bad company. The names of both brothers appear in the Audit Books for 1636 to 1639. The Head Master, John Harrison, seems to have found his way to Robert Boyle's heart, and to have given him a taste for literature as distinguished from the pedantry of scholarship. "He would often dispense from his attendance at school, at the accustomed hours, to instruct him privately and familiarly in his chamber. He would often as it were cloy him with fruit and sweetmeats, and those little dainties that age is greedy of, that by preventing the want he might lessen both his value and desire of them. He would sometimes give him unasked play-days, and oft bestow upon him such balls and tops and other implements of idleness as he had taken away from

others that had unduly used them." Unless Eton boys were very different from what they are now, it is to be feared that the former owners of the "implements of idleness" unduly used the object of Mr. Harrison's favour when his back was turned. Robert Boyle was nearly four years at Eton, "then very much thronged with young nobility"; the latter part of the time under William Norris, Harrison's successor, whom he seems to have disliked. He says that "by the change of his old courteous schoolmaster for a new rigid fellow, losing those encouragements that had formerly subdued his aversion to verbal studies, he quickly quitted his Terence and his grammar to read in history their gallant acts, that were the glory of their own and the wonder of our times."

Besides these two sons of Lord Cork we notice in the Audit Books the names of four sons of the Earl of Northampton—the eldest, James, Lord Compton, afterwards third Earl, and his three brothers, afterwards Sir Charles, Sir William, and Sir Spencer Compton. These four brothers all fought at Edgehill, the three younger being all under twenty. Lord Mordaunt, son of the first Earl of Peterborough, and fourth Lord Mordaunt, and a younger brother, were at the school in 1635 and 1636, and about this time also Francis Fane and two younger brothers, sons no doubt of the Earl of Westmoreland, who in 1628 presented a buck to the College. There also occur the names of Sir Henry Newton, Lord Henry Carr, and apparently a cousin of his name, who had to be content with dining at the third table.

Sir Henry Newton, whose father, Sir Adam Newton, had been tutor to Henry, Prince of Wales, also fought for the King at Edgehill. In later life he became M.P. for Warwick and Paymaster-General of the Forces, dying in 1700 at the age of 83, and leaving no surviving issue to inherit the baronetcy.

Lord Henry Carr was no doubt Harry Ker, the second but then only surviving son of Robert, first Earl of Roxburghe,

and after the death of his elder brother in 1617 known as Lord Ker.

In 1636 the name of Washington occurs, and as some members of George Washington's family were connected with Sulham, at no great distance from Eton, we may perhaps justifiably imagine that this boy was one of them.

Two other Etonians of about this time deserve mention. One, John Pearson, the Bishop of Chester and famous author of the *Exposition of the Creed*, was educated on the foundation and became a scholar of King's in 1632. He was born in 1613, at Snoring, in Norfolk, of which his father was rector.

The other was Henry More, the Platonist. He was born at Grantham, on October 12th, 1614, and was sent to Eton at the age of fourteen, where he spent about three years and then went to Christ's College Cambridge, of which College it will be remembered that Milton was a member.

More has left some memoirs of his life, by which it appears that he was educated till his fourteenth year in the strictest sect of the Calvinists. He describes how, even when a schoolboy, these doctrines shocked him, and how "on a certain day in a ground belonging to Eton College, where the boys used to play and exercise themselves, walking as his manner was, slowly and with his head on one side, and kicking now and then the stones with his feet," his soul revolted at the idea of predestination to eternal damnation as he reflected on the Divine governance of the world.

In 1634 there was considerable disturbance in the College and among the Fellows of King's. Charles I. had answered a petition of the parishioners of Windsor for an increase in the value of the benefice, by declaring that henceforward a fellowship at Eton should be reserved for the Vicar of Windsor. The Fellows of King's, seeing their privileges attacked, petitioned Laud, the recently-elected Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Vicar of Windsor might always

be elected from among them, and exhibited various articles of complaint against the sister College. They renewed an old complaint of the reduction of Fellowships from ten to seven, which Laud justified, as had been done before, by custom and the diminution of revenue caused by Edward IV.'s spoliation; and complained also of the election of aliens, as to which Laud decided that five fellowships should always be reserved for Kingsmen. It is perhaps more interesting to note that the grievances of the Scholars, which took two hundred years more to be remedied, were even then sufficiently glaring for the Kingsmen to make them also a subject of complaint. They say that the scholars were "deprived of breakfasts, clothing, bedding, and all other necessaries which the statute amply allows them, and forced to be content with a bare scanty diet and a coarse short gown, whilst the College revenues are shared amongst a few." The Kingsmen also complained that the preferential claim of the Choristers to scholarships was ignored, and ignored it continued to be. Originally they slept in the same chambers and dined at the same table in Hall, and enjoyed the same allowances and clothing as the Scholars. They had, it is true, a separate master in the shape of one of the Gentlemen Clerks, but they were originally members of the foundation, and one of the original Choristers, Roger Flecknore, went as a Scholar to King's in 1445, and he was not the only Chorister that obtained a scholarship at Eton. The Audit Books of King's also show that their Choristers were often candidates for election at Eton, and the College paid the expenses of their journeys to Eton.

Since this time the Kingsmen have not had much occasion to grumble that their privileges have not been respected, one of the abuses attacked by Sir John Coleridge in his famous Tiverton lecture being the appointment of Kingsmen only to Assistant Masterships. Provost Hodgson, who favoured or initiated many reforms, was always conservative on this

point. Of Sir Henry Wotton's manner of life at Eton Walton has left us some account:—"After his customary public Devotions his use was to retire into his Study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible and Authors in Divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. But when he was once sat down to dinner then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind, and those still increased by constant company at his table of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in Philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of Angling, which he would usually call 'his idle time not idly spent,' saying often 'he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers.'" The pleasures of angling Wotton shared with Walton, their favourite resort being Black Potts, which is situated just below the South Western Railway bridge beyond the Playing Fields.

Among other friends of Wotton must be mentioned John Hales, styled the Ever Memorable by his own generation, but nearly forgotten by this. He was a Fellow of Eton and one of the most learned theologians of his age, but his title of "Ever Memorable" seems to have been given him by the circle of wits and authors of which he formed part, rather for the charm of his manner and conversation than the depth of his knowledge. Besides his fellowship at Eton he held also a canonry at Windsor, but he was deprived of both under the Commonwealth, and had to part with his library for the supply of his necessities. It is recorded that he generously shared the proceeds of sale of one of the largest private libraries of that day with other deprived ministers. He was a staunch supporter of the Church of England, but of rather latitudinarian views, which once at least brought him into conflict with Laud. He died at Eton in a lodging near the Christopher Inn on 16th May, 1656, at the age of

seventy-two, and was buried under a tomb that may still be seen in the churchyard in the place chosen by himself, and was erected by a former pupil named Peter Curwen. Another friend of Wotton was John Milton, though not, it seems, one of his older friends. There is a letter written by Wotton thanking the poet, who was then living at Horton, for the present of *Comus*, and regretting that he had not been able to improve his acquaintance "by banding together some good authors of the ancient time at a poor meal or two." *Comus* he styles "a dainty piece of entertainment, wherein I should much commend the Tragical part if the Lyrical did not ravish me with certain Dorique delicacy in your songs and odes."

This was a year before his death, which occurred in 1639, at the age of seventy-two. He was buried in the Chapel, with the following inscription on his tombstone, as directed by his will—

HIC JACET HUJUS SENTENTIAE PRIMUS AUTHOR
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.
NOMEN ALIAS QUAERE.

The stone has since been moved and may now be seen at the northern end of the steps leading from the ante-Chapel into the choir. By his will he bequeathed all his manuscripts to the College, and a mourning ring, inscribed *Amor unit omnia*, to each of the Fellows. The love stronger than death, that like death unites all, was a thought characteristic of the kindly Provost, who left, treasured among his papers, Sir Walter Raleigh's lines, written on the eve of his death—

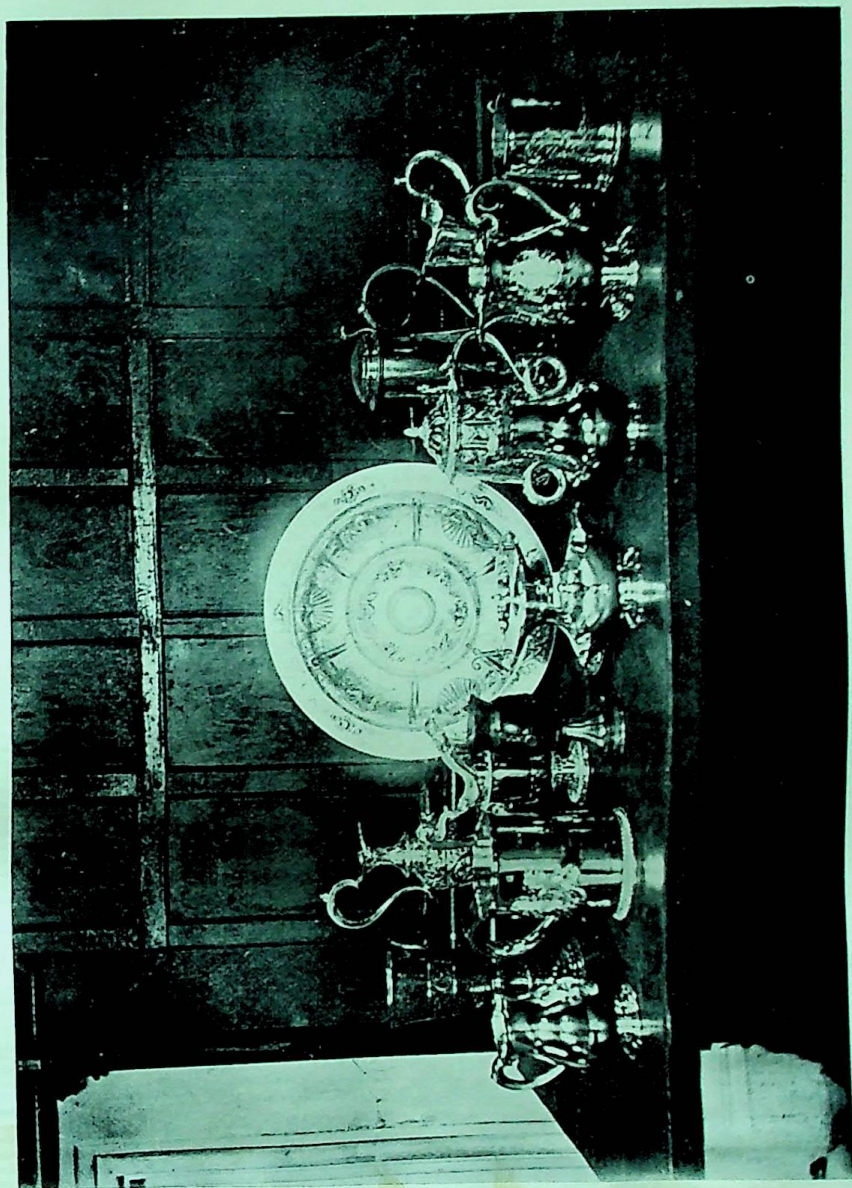
"Even such is time, who takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
So from this earth, this grave, this dust,
My God will raise me up, I trust."

Wotton projected several literary enterprises, but never accomplished much. A collection of a few pieces with some of his poems and letters, with the life by Walton prefixed, was published in 1651, under the title of *Reliquiae Wottonianae*. One of these tracts, the *Treatise on the Elements of Architecture*, had been previously published in 1624. Another work, *The State of Christendom*, was published later, in 1657, in folio. His portrait, an engraving of which forms the frontispiece of the *Reliquiae*, is in the Provost's Lodge.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROVOST STEWARD—THE CIVIL WAR—PROVOST ROUS AND HIS PURITAN FRIENDS—THE RESTORATION—SCHOOL DISCIPLINE.

IT was not long before Wotton's successor was chosen. Three weeks after his death the Fellows elected, in accordance with the royal recommendation, Richard Steward of All Souls' College Oxford, who was Dean of Chichester and Clerk of the King's Closet. He was a great favourite of Charles I., and a strong adherent of the Anglican party in the Church. The year after his election he was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and in that year one or more of the royal children paid him a visit and were entertained in the College Hall. At the beginning of the Civil War Provost Steward left the College, taking with him the College seal, and joined the King. It has with much probability been supposed that besides the College seal he took most of the College plate for his royal master's service. At all events, there are only three older pieces of domestic plate than this now in the possession of the College; two of these are the beautiful ewer and rose-water dish given by Adam Robyns in 1613, and the third is the cocoanut cup, the gift of John Edmonds, elected Fellow in 1491, of which the history is somewhat obscure. The Eton Register records the fact that the Provost took the seal, but says nothing of the plate.

The Civil War, of course, upset the normal round of

COLLEGE PLATE

College business. In 1643 a royal mandate specially postponed the election, and no regular election appears to have been held for several years. In 1642, 1643, and 1644 it is recorded that there was no regular election to King's, though nine Scholars were admitted during those years.

The Audit Books from 1642 to 1646 inclusive were either never kept or have disappeared, probably the former, and it is quite likely that during this period there were no Commensals. There are only two names in 1641 and two only in 1647, and that is the last year in which there are any at all. In 1648 the heading of receipts, under which the payments made by the Commensals were entered, is left blank, and the next year the heading disappears altogether. Perhaps, like the Comptons, many of them left school to take part in the war, just as many mere boys went to the Peninsula and Waterloo campaigns. The records of the Fellows of King's College mention several who fought for their king. Thus William Raven and Charles Howard raised troops of horse, the latter being killed at the siege of Newark. Sampson Briggs fell at Gloucester, James Eyre at Berkeley, and Henry Pierce at Bridgwater. Henry Bard, who had been a great traveller, and recommended himself to the Queen by his knowledge of languages, obtained a colonelcy, and served through the whole of the war, including Naseby. Charles made him successively a Knight and Baronet, and in 1645 created him Baron Bombry and Viscount Bellamont in the peerage of Ireland. He died on a mission to the Court of Persia on behalf of Charles II. before the Restoration, leaving a widow and two daughters, one of whom was afterwards the mistress of Prince Rupert. James Fleetwood, who was Provost of King's College from 1660 to 1675, at the beginning of the war was forced to leave his benefice in Shropshire. He joined the royal army and served as chaplain till the end of the war, when he supported himself as tutor to various young noblemen till the Restora-

tion. Charles II. did not forget him, but made him Royal Chaplain, and subsequently Bishop of Worcester.

William Norris, the Head Master, was succeeded, in 1646, by Nicholas Gray, who had been educated at Westminster and Christ Church, and before being appointed to Eton was Master of the Charterhouse and Merchant Taylors' School. He is said to have been an excellent scholar, but that did not prevent his being ejected for his loyalty in 1648. He was succeeded by George Goad, who, however, obtained a Fellowship in six months, and was in turn succeeded by Thomas Horne, the Head Master of Tunbridge School, whose resigned preferment Nicholas Gray was glad to get. After the Restoration Gray obtained an Eton Fellowship, but he died almost immediately after. He was the author of a Latin Dictionary, and a collection of passages from the Bible, to illustrate a catechism by Grotius, entitled *Baptizatorum Puerorum Institutio*, which was used in the school till this century. He also translated the Parables into Latin Verse for the use of his scholars at Tunbridge. Thomas Horne was the author of several school books and the father of two good scholars, one of whom became Head Master of Harrow, the other Vice-Provost of Eton. John Boncle was Head Master in 1654, and afterwards Fellow till he was ejected at the Restoration; and Thomas Singleton was Head Master from 1655–60. During this period Thomas Mountague, in spite of his loyalist principles, was allowed to remain Usher, and on the Restoration was rewarded with the headmastership.

On the whole, indeed, Eton seems to have fared not so badly at the Protector's hands. In 1643 the attention of the Parliament seems first to have been directed to Eton, the statutes and canons which ordered the graduates and Scholars to wear surplices in the church being declared to be against law and the liberty of the subject. Later in the year a Colonel Venn, who had already been doing the work

of destruction at St. George's, Windsor, was ordered to remove all scandalous monuments and pictures in the churches of Windsor and Eton. At the beginning of 1644 the Lords passed an ordinance at Westminster, removing Richard Steward, Doctor of the Law, for neglecting the government of the College and joining himself to those that have levied war against the Parliament, and appointed to the provostship in his place Francis Rous, of Brixham, within the county of Devon, esquire. Rous was a gentleman of good family and education, being the son of Sir Anthony Rous of Halton St. Dominick in Cornwall, and having been educated at Oxford and the University of Leyden, and had sat in Parliament for some years. He was a zealous Puritan and a lay member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He is the only Provost who has sat in Parliament while Provost, and his seat there enabled him to be of considerable service to the College on various occasions, and Eton has no occasion to regret her Puritan Provost. He brought forward an ordinance in the House of Commons, soon after being made Provost, exempting the College property from taxation, and authorizing an election of Scholars to be held as usual. The ordinance was not passed till August, 1645, but ten boys were sent to King's College that year. In 1649 the College nearly lost all its property by an ordinance for the sale of the estates of various religious corporations, but a special exemption was obtained for it.

The process of purifying the College from the royalist Fellows went on gradually, and one important domestic change took place about this period, which was that the Fellows were allowed to draw their commons in money, and henceforward they ceased, to a large extent, to dine in Hall, and dined in their private houses instead. It was perhaps the logical result of allowing them to marry, but it was a severe blow to the collegiate system.

In 1649 the House of Commons passed a resolution order-

ing the Fellows, Masters, and Scholars of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster to sign the "engagement," that they would be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established without a King or House of Lords." This cost the "ever-memorable" John Hales his Fellowship, for he was a staunch royalist and refused to sign. He had nearly lost his place once before on the Puritans first coming to Eton, by reason of his having hidden himself with certain College documents and keys.

On March 11th, 1655, the Protector issued an order to the Commissioners of the Treasury, now preserved among the College muniments, to pay to the Provost and Fellows "three score and thirteen pounds ten shillings in satisfaction of arrears of forty-two pounds per ann., and fifteen pounds per ann. in lieu of three tuns of Gascon wine claimed by them in perpetuity, and from time to time for the future continue the payment of the said several sums yearly by equal portions to the Provost and Fellows."

In 1653 Provost Rous was elected Speaker of the Barebones Parliament, and when that Parliament effected its own destruction Cromwell rewarded him by making him a member of the Council of State and afterwards a Lord of Parliament. He died at Acton in January, 1659, and was buried at Eton with great state. His place of burial was his own choice, "a place," as he says in his will, "which hath my deare affections and prayers, that it may be a flourishing nursery of pietie and learning to the end of the world." The site of his tomb was Lupton's Chapel, and over it were set up his banners and escutcheons, a few years later destined to be "pulled down with scorn by the loyal Provost and Fellows, and thrown aside as tokens and badges of damned baseness and rebellion." "Rebel" he may have been, "the old illiterate Jew of Eton" he has been called, but he loved Eton, and should be gratefully remembered by Etonians. Tradition says that the fine old elms in the Playing Fields were planted by him, though

it cannot be said that the evidence of the fact is altogether satisfactory. He founded three exhibitions at his old College of Pembroke Oxford for superannuated scholars of Eton, should none of his own kin apply within fifty days. If there were no such candidates the exhibitions might be thrown open to undergraduates of less than two years' standing who had been educated at Eton. As late as 1792 and 1794 John Rous and Oliver Rous enjoyed the benefits of their kinsman's liberality, but under the present state of things University Commissions have abolished the rights of Founders' kin, and the one scholarship which now represents the Rous exhibitions is reserved for Etonians.

Besides these more material things Rous evidently took great interest in the moral governance of the College. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte quotes from the Additional MSS. in the British Museum the following "Rules for the Schollers," drawn up by the Provost, which he required to be observed :—

"That they rise in the Long Chamber at five of the clocke in the morning, and after a psalme sung and prayers used, sweepe the Chamber as they were formerly wont to doe.

"That after supper they goe from the Hall to the Schoole unless they be dismissed with leave and [be] then kept together till eight of the clocke, at which tyme they are to repaire to the Long Chamber, and after a psalme sung and prayers used those that ly there not to stirre out, and those that ly in any other chambers immediately to repaire to them and not stirre out.

"That those who canne write take notes of sermons and those under the Master render them to him and those under the Usher to him, the morning notes after dinner, the evening on Monday morning.

"That they meete in the School on the Lord's day att seaven of the clocke in the morning for prayer and catechizing to be performed by the Schoolemaster.

"That when they have leave to play, the præpositors keepe them together in their bounds, except their tutors send for them to their chambers.

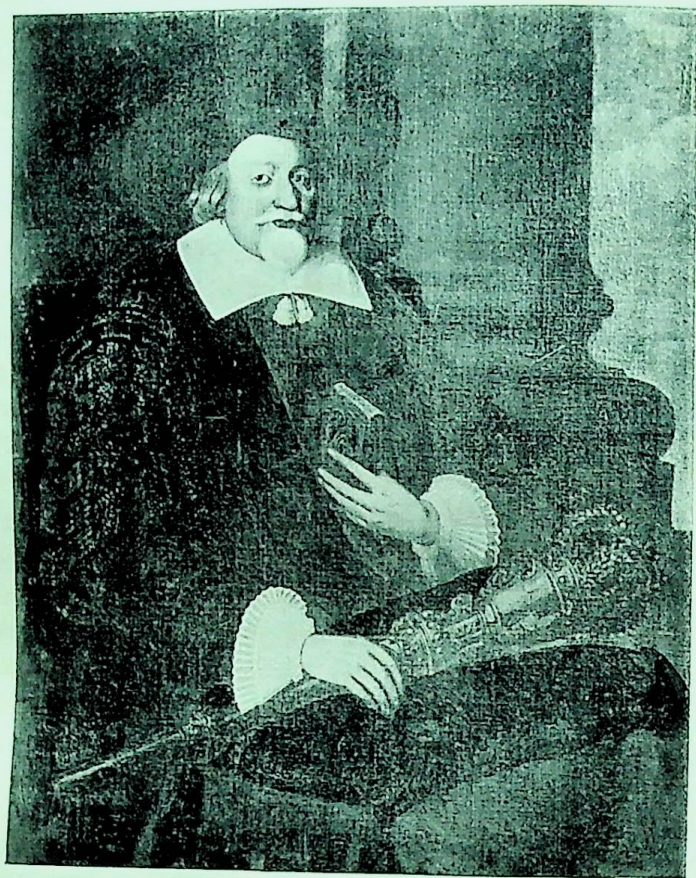
"That none ly out of the Colledge except they have leave from the Provost or in his absence the Vice-Provost and Schoolemaster."

These rules seem to show that the Provost had been looking up the statutes, and was trying so far as he could to reintroduce practices and discipline which had fallen into desuetude.

Anthony à Wood's sneer at Rous as "the illiterate old Jew of Eton" was in allusion to his desire to introduce into the English constitution the principles of the Jewish commonwealth. Illiterate he certainly was not; he was the author of several books, among them the metrical version of the Psalms that is still used in the Scottish Kirk, and another, the title of which, *The Mystical Marriage; or, Experimental Discourses of the Heavenly Marriage between a Soule and her Saviour*, sufficiently attests the mystical character of his theological thinking.

No doubt it was owing to Rous being Provost that Peter Sterry, a mystical theologian also, and one of Cromwell's chaplains, sent his two sons Peter and Joseph to Eton as Oppidans. Peter's conduct seems to have troubled his father considerably, for he writes to him in some anxiety:—

"Son Peter,

"W^{n} I came from you, I left you with much Greife for w^{t} was past & fear for y^{e} time to come. It is y^{e} Lord Jesus alone who can disappoint y^{t} fear, by giving you his Spirit of Wisdome and Grace to see y^{e} snares of y^{e} Devill, to resist him, to mortifie your own Lusts and passions, to keepe your selfe from every evill way & evill company. . . . Learne now to hold fast y^{e} praecepts & rules of Scripture of your ffather, of your Governours, and Elders; Know y^{t} that they will be yo^{r} Life your Safety your peace & honour. Keepe your Bed & Bedfellow, Keepe y^{e} Colledge, and goe not into Towne. Keepe with yourselfe & be with no company especially in all private places. Never be in company of any womankinde. Be very free to y^{r} M^{r}. Speake often with him, acquaint him with all your temptations, & dangers & troubles; be perfectly advised, and governed by him. Go to your M^{r} for w^{t} ever you want pens Incke or paper or any other thing for yourselfe or brother, he will supply you; write to mee on munday next

FRANCIS ROUS, 17TH PROVOST
IN HIS ROBES AS SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

FROM THE PORTRAIT IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

without faile at large; & give mee an exact account how everything stands with you in your Spirit in all respects, your debts your company & brother. . . . If you finde y^e^ Temptations of y^t^ place still to strong for you, I am resolved to remove you before y^e^ Devill have prevailed to farre over you, & brought you into greater snares of shame and trouble. I resolve thorrow y^e^ Grace of Christ to visit you often once every fortnight or 3 weeks. . . . The Lord Jesus be with your Spirit in whom I am

yo^r^ most aff. ffa. P: S:"

Besides the portrait of Rous in the Provost's Lodge here reproduced, which represents him in his robes as Speaker with the "bauble" removed afterwards by Cromwell's orders, there is another at Pembroke College Oxford which has been engraved by Faithorne. If the Protector had survived Rous probably enough he would have taken care that the Fellows elected a man of his own choosing, but from Richard Cromwell the Fellows had little cause to dread interference. Without waiting for a mandamus they elected one of themselves, Nicholas Lockyer, to the provostship. This man had been an independent minister, and with Peter Sterry, Hugh Peters, and one or two others, Chaplain to Cromwell. He was a staunch Puritan, and had in 1646 published a book, entitled *England faithfully watched with her wounds, or Christ sitting up with His children in their swooning state; which is the sum of several lectures painfully preached upon Col. I.*

It is curious, remarks Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, that the letter in which the Fellows announced their choice to Richard Cromwell contains an explicit statement that they considered him invested with the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, and consequently their lawful Visitor.

But Provost Lockyer was not fated to enjoy his office long. The King was restored to his own again in the next year, and Lockyer resigned quietly, and lost, at the same time, two London benefices to which he had been presented by

the Parliament. He survived the Restoration for 24 years, living on his private means, and as a frequenter of conventicles and otherwise disaffected incurred suspicion of treasonable conspiracy. There is a small engraved portrait of him in existence, an example of which is to be seen in the Gallery at Eton.

There is a portrait of Provost Steward in the Lodge at Eton, who did not survive the Restoration.

The provostship, therefore, was a prize for some favourer of the royalist cause. It fell to the lot of Nicholas Monk, brother of General Monk and a relative of Sir John Grenville, of Boconnoc, who was then rector of Kilkhampton, in Cornwall. Nicholas Monk and Sir John Grenville had both been as deeply involved in the plan for the restoration of the King as General Monk, and though, of course, the new Provost did not possess all the statutory qualifications, he plainly had a good claim for reward. Charles II.'s procedure on this occasion was more arbitrary than that of any of his predecessors; he made Monk an absolute grant of the provostship as if it was an office in the gift of the Crown, without even going through the form of sending the Fellows a mandamus for his election. The Fellows made the silent protest of entering no notice of these high-handed proceedings on the College Register, and Monk took possession of his office without any election.

Four of the Fellows followed Lockyer's example and resigned; the other three made attempts to avert their fate, and two with success. John Boncle, who had been Head Master in 1654, and was elected a Fellow in 1655, was unsuccessful in spite of a petition to the King recounting how he had been sent from Newmarket to London to serve the royal children, as page or gentleman or something of the kind, and his labours at the Charterhouse and Eton as schoolmaster.

George Goad was more successful; his petition was referred

to certain persons who pronounced his election valid, on the ground of its having taken place before Charles I.'s death, and in spite of the efforts of Nicholas Cordell, who claimed the fellowship and asserted Goad to be a rich man and a complier with the late times, Goad retained his fellowship till his death. Probably enough he was not a very zealous Puritan, for he seems during the Commonwealth to have been compelled to resign his ecclesiastical preferments. The Etonian biographer is grateful to him for his manuscript collections of the lives of members of King's College, a work which was begun by Thomas Hatcher, Scholar of King's in 1555. The other Fellow who avoided deprivation, or more strictly speaking succeeded in being re-elected, was Nathaniel Ingelo, the Vice-Provost. He must have had friends at Court, for he was evidently not at all beloved at Eton. A month after his election Captain Francis Robinson, a Life Guard, was writing to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, repeating old scandals about Ingelo, how formerly when Usher of the Free School at Wymondham he used to disturb Dr. Nathaniel Gulston in his preaching by insolence against the Liturgy and Prayer-book, that he had said that the bishops should be hanged, and the royal children were all Jermyn's bastards. But the repetition of these stories was without effect, and equally ineffective was the petition of the scholars of Eton some years later to the Visitor against Ingelo's oppression as Vice-Provost. They accused him of tyranny and inhumanity "in expelling a poore Cavalier's sonne, Mr. Hill, the watch-maker's sonne, who was one of the Upper schollars in our schoole, and one that had had a place at Oxford ere this and been made for ever had he not been expelled the Colledge." His fault, that of going with some friends to Oxford without leave, seems to modern ideas sufficiently heinous to justify expulsion, but though the Provost had forgiven him, the petitioners complained that the Vice-Provost had "forbidd him to come near the College, and bid the College servants

lay hold on him and punish him publiquely if he came within the College bounds." They continue, "Soe he would have undone another Cavalier's sonne, Esq. Harrison's sonne, for nothing as is now known. Wee all wish to be eased of the yoake that we undergoe by the meanes of this Ingelo." But the yoke was only eased by Ingelo's death in 1683.

But the petitions of these three Fellows were by no means the only ones that were presented to Charles. For the next few years the *State Papers* are full of requests from all sorts and conditions of men for fellowships and scholarships at Eton and King's for themselves or their relations, boasting their loyal zeal or the risks that they had run in the royal cause. Even for the post of singing man Charles was willing to send letters of request.

Of the ejected Fellows two only survived, David Stokes and John Meredith, who were reinstated; and the remaining fellowships were bestowed on John Price, chaplain to General Monk, and an Etonian and Kingsman; on Isaac Barrow, uncle of the Master of Trinity College Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Sodor and Man and St. Asaph; and on Nicholas Gray, the former Head Master, who, however, only lived three months, not long enough to prevent him dying very poor. The Puritan leaven was removed in other ways also; the banners over Provost Rous' tomb were torn down, the epitaph on the wife of a Puritan Fellow, written by Andrew Marvell, was defaced; the Head Master, Singleton, was dismissed, and the Usher, Thomas Mountague, promoted to his place; and the College proceeded to pass resolutions for the reintroduction of the Prayer-book and the decent order of services. Thomas Singleton is said to have been "a good-tempered man, excellently qualified for teaching the classic authors." When he left Eton he started a private school at Clerkenwell, which was at one time so flourishing that he had nearly three hundred boys under his care; but he appears to have fallen afterwards into difficulties, and to have

been partly supported by Dr. Mead, the great physician, who had been his pupil.

The Provost and Fellows also proceeded to pass various regulations for the stricter enforcement of discipline and a more rigid adherence to the statutes. The Head Master was forbidden to grant more than one afternoon in a week for leave to play, and that only when there was no holiday in the week. The Head Master and Usher were reminded to repair to the school, the one at 7 a.m. and 1 p.m., and the other soon after 6 a.m. and 12 p.m., and they were to take care that in writing-times the Scholars did not "wander about, but be held to a task, and thereof to call for a daily accompt."

After Lady-day, 1662, it was ordered that "all the King's Schollers and Choristers shall ly in the Long Chamber, and that the Scholemaster and Usher shall lodge in their chambers at the ends of the Long Chamber to prevent disorders which may otherwise happen in the said chamber." Further, the Scholars and servants were to be sworn to the statutes, and the statutes read as therein enjoined. It is not probable that when the Head Master and Usher were at liberty to marry, the regulations for their occupying their rooms at each end of Long Chamber could be enforced for long. But the College was evidently trying to revive other more ancient practices, for the practice of the Fellows dining at the high table in Hall was again observed. Towards the expense of £160 a year the seven Fellows and Head Master contributed £20 a year each. They were to be entitled to a loaf of bread and a pot of beer, when present, and might bring in a guest on paying for his bread and beer, unless he were a College Tenant, when he was supplied without payment. The Choristers waited, and had their allowance of bread and beer at dinner and commons at supper.

Provost Monk was soon after his appointment as Provost

made Bishop of Hereford, and allowed to hold the provostship *in commendam* for two years, but he died in December, 1661. There is a portrait of him in the Palace at Hereford, which has been engraved.

He was succeeded in the provostship by John Meredith, Fellow of Eton and Warden of All Souls' College Oxford, though the King made some attempt, which he found it wiser to abandon, to force on the College a certain Dr. Thomas Browne, who was Canon of Windsor and had been chaplain to the Princess of Orange. Dr. Meredith is described in the King's mandatory letter as one "who by his eminent work and constant affection to us and our interest hath very well deserved this character of our royal favour."

The school discipline seems to have been still somewhat lax, for we find further regulations being made for its maintenance. The Provost and Fellows ordered particularly that the Scholars were not to go out of bounds without leave on pain of severe punishment, that new locks should be fitted to Lower School and Long Chamber and the keys taken every night after prayers, and severe penalties inflicted on any Scholar going out afterwards without leave of Provost or Vice-Provost; and that similar treatment should be accorded to any Scholar presuming "to ly out of the College one night without leave of the Provost or Vice-Provost." Further, "It was ordered then also that Clark, Stone, Curwin, and Whittaker, whoe lately accompanied Garaway and Langston at the 'Christopher,' and Thomas Woodward's, shall have a forme of repentance drawn for them, which they shall read in the school before the Vice-Provost and Fellowes in English, and that their fault of being out of their bounds shall be registered *pro primâ vice*."

Curwin seems to have been a young gentleman who gave some trouble to the authorities, for we find again a "memorandum that Curwin and Baker were admonished and whipt

and registred for goeing out of their bounds to the Datchet alehouses, and beating the fishermen in their way home, to the great scandal of the College. Curwin for the second time and Baker for the first."

No doubt the glory of beating the bargees somewhat consoled the two heroes, even if the College was scandalized.

Besides amusements of this character there seems to have been a revival of the drama. Not only did the College encourage the boys by contributing towards expenses, but even distributed money among those who took part in the plays, as a reward for their talents.

The plague in 1662 and the following years was far more virulent than in Elizabeth's days, but it does not seem to have been very fatal in the school, though one would hardly attribute this to the prophylactic in use, viz., tobacco. Thomas Hearne, in his diary, says, "Even children were obliged to smoak. And I remember that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was yeoman beadle, say that when he was that year a schoolboy at Eaton all the boys of that school were obliged to smoak in the school every morning, and that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking." To be whipped for not smoking seems to a modern Etonian an ordinance from Looking-Glass Land. Meredith, like his predecessor, was Provost but for a short time, dying on July 16th, 1665, and was buried in All Souls' Chapel.

CHAPTER IX.

PROVOST ALLESTREE—SAMUEL PEPYS' VISIT—DR. ROSEWELL, THE HEAD MASTER—EARLIEST SCHOOL LIST—DR. RODERICK—TOUCHING FOR THE EVIL—HUNTING THE RAM—CHARACTER OF DR. NEWBOROUGH—HIS ILLUSTRIOUS PUPILS.

ON Provost Meredith's death Charles II. offered the provostship to Robert Boyle, the most distinguished Etonian of the day. No appointment would have been better; Boyle's great learning, high character, and the fact that he had independent means, and was therefore above any temptation to regard the office from a mercenary point of view, would have made him an admirable Provost. Unfortunately he was not in holy orders, and his conscientious scruples prevented him accepting a post for which this was a statutory requirement, and which involved a cure of souls. No one could say that he was not eminently worthy of ordination, if he had cared to take orders, as Wotton had done, on his election; and Lord Clarendon pressed this course upon him. Boyle, however, declined, partly from thinking that his theological writings would be of less value if they were merely the productions of a paid professional divine, partly because he did not feel spiritually called to become a minister of the Gospel.

On Boyle's refusal Edmund Waller, the poet, and an Etonian also, solicited the King for the post. Charles II., with whom he was in high favour, consented, but one cannot

avoid feeling satisfaction that Lord Clarendon, the Chancellor, absolutely refused to affix the great seal to the mandamus, on the ground that the office could not be held by a layman. For once political tergiversation and base betrayal of friends were unsuccessful, and Waller had to swallow his disappointment.

The place was then offered to Dr. Richard Allestree, a Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He was then a man forty-six years of age. He had been a student of Christ Church, and had just taken his bachelor of arts degree and become a Moderator in Philosophy when the Civil War broke out. He then took up arms for the King in the students' troop at Oxford, under Sir John Biron, and so continued until Sir John left Oxford. For the next few years he served in the King's army, occasionally returning to Oxford to his studies. Even during his military service he did not neglect his studies, "frequently holding the musquet in one hand and the book in the other; making the watchfulness of the soldier the lucubrations of a student." On the conclusion of the war he returned to Oxford and took orders, but in 1648 was expelled from the University for refusing to submit to the authority of the Parliament. Thereupon he retired to his native county of Salop and the protection of the Hon. Francis Newport, to whose father, Lord Newport, his father had been steward. Thereafter he was engaged in conducting correspondence with Charles II. and his supporters abroad, and once at least came near to losing his life.

There is an Eton tradition, which the dates of his various preferments show can hardly be true, that in spite of all his services he would have been forgotten by Charles, had it not been for his remarkable ugliness. Lord Rochester is said to have made a bet with the King, that in half an hour he would produce an uglier man than Lord Lauderdale. Thereupon he goes into the street and returns shortly with Allestree,

whom he had met accidentally and inveigled into the presence. The two were greeted with shouts of laughter; the King acknowledged that Rochester had won his bet, and then turned and apologized to Allestree, who, making the most of his opportunity, asked to be remembered for promotion, which Charles did when the provostship fell vacant. Whether the story had its origin in the portrait of Allestree now in the Provost's Lodge is not clear, but it is apparently later than 1797, for Harwood, when he wrote the account of him in the *Alumni Etonenses*, makes no mention of the story.

Whatever his looks may have been, his conduct as Provost was handsome, and Eton owes him a considerable debt of gratitude. He found the finances of the College in considerable disorder, but by his prudence and economy he paid off incumbrances and put matters on a satisfactory footing. The chief cause of this appears to have been that the Puritan Fellows, styled by Huggett "the pretended saints," had started the practice of dividing the surplus of the year's income among themselves, and charging all extraordinary expenses for repairs and so on to a capital account, to pay which they borrowed money at ruinous interest, "which in time grew to such a bulk as endangered the College becoming bankrupt. To remedy this evil Dr. Allestree, by an exemplary retrenchment of his own dues, prevailed on the society to do the like, insomuch that within a few years the College paid off above a thousand pound debt, and expended above two thousand pounds in repairs." Provost Allestree also, as has been related in an earlier chapter, built the original Upper School at his own expense.

Dr. Allestree's biographer, Bishop Fell, relates "another considerable service he did the College and school, and also King's College, in Cambridge, whose seminary it is: that whereas formerly the fellowships of Eton were generally disposed of to persons of foreign education, the King was

pleased at the instance of Dr. Allestree, joined with the petition of the Provost and Fellows of King's College, to pass a grant under the broad seal that for the future five of the seven Fellows should be such as had been educated at Eton School, and were Fellows of King's College." This appears to have been in 1670. In 1671 and 1677 the election of aliens in the persons of Zacharias Cradock, of Queen's College Oxford, and Henry Godolphin, of All Souls', caused the Fellows of King's to remonstrate to Archbishop Sancroft, who obtained the royal confirmation to the decree bidding the Eton electors for the future to pay no attention to royal mandates in favour of particular persons. This inspired the parishioners of Windsor to ask for the fellowship that by Archbishop Laud's award was to be annexed to the vicarage of Windsor, but without result.

Some months after Provost Allestree's election, on February 26th, 1665-6, being Shrove Monday in that year, Samuel Pepys visited Windsor, and drove down to Eton with his wife and Dr. Childe, the organist of St. George's. His description of the visit must be in his own words: "At Eton I left my wife in the coach, and he and I to the College and there find all mighty fine. The school good, and the custom pretty of boys cutting their names in the struts of the windows when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself Provost and Fellow, that had his name in the window standing. To the Hall and there find the boys' verses, 'De Peste'; it being their custom to make verses at Shrovetide. I read several, and very good ones they were, and better, I think, than ever I made when I was a boy, and in rolls as long and longer than the whole Hall by much. Here is a picture of Venice hung up given, and a monument made of Sir H. Wotton's giving it to the College. Thence to the porter's, in the absence of the butler, and did drink of the College beer, which is very good; and went into the back fields to see the Scholars play. And so to the chappell, and

there saw, among other things, Sir H. Wotton's stone with this epitaph :—

HIC JACET PRIMUS HUJUS SENTENTIÆ AUTHOR,
DISPUTANDI PRURITUS FIT ECCLESIÆ SCABIES.

But unfortunately the word 'Author' was wrong writ, and now so basely altered that it disgraces the stone."

His remarks on the "Bacchus" verses and the carving of names on the window shutters have been referred to in an earlier chapter.

In October, 1671, Thomas Mountague, the Head Master, was elected a Fellow, and was succeeded in the mastership by John Rosewell, who held office for eight years. He was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College Oxford, and was in high esteem for his learning; he seems to have greatly increased the reputation of the school, and is styled by one of his pupils, "ludimagister celeberrimus." To Rosewell's mastership and the year 1678 belongs the earliest extant school list. It is among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, together with some biographical notes in Rawlinson's handwriting on some of the boys whose names occur in it. The list is not a long "absence" roll, as many of the early lists that have been preserved are, but is written on a half-sheet of foolscap, like the "Bills of Eton School" in the time of Dr. Davies preserved in the Library, and there are one or two things about it that are puzzling and some plainly inaccurate. It has been printed, not always quite correctly as regards spelling, in an Appendix to *Etoniana.* It shows a Sixth form of eight boys, not particularized as Collegers or Oppidans, but as they were all apparently afterwards elected to King's in different years, they presumably are Collegers. Then follow nineteen Fifth form Collegers and as many Oppidans, twenty-seven Fourth form Collegers and thirty-two Oppidans, fifteen Third form Collegers and forty-three Oppidans, nine Second form Collegers and twenty-five Oppidans, "Bibler's Seat" one.

Then follows the note, "Number about 202," and then nine more names, which it has been suggested are either "unplaced" or absent, or the names of Choristers. It will be seen that without these nine the number of boys is 198, with them 207. Further, if the Sixth form were Collegers there were 78 in all. Again, among the Third form Oppidans is the name Raymund (Sir Jemmatt); now at this date this boy, who was the eldest son of Sir Jonathan Raymund, Kt., and Alderman of London, had no title; he was knighted in 1680, during his father's shrievalty, being then at Merchant Taylors' School. A similar remark may be made as to Dashwood (Sir Robt.), who had no right to the title till he was knighted at Windsor in 1682. His father was not even a knight, though the son was afterwards created a baronet, and after being M.P. for Banbury and Oxford, died in 1734. Putting all which together, the most probable inference seems to be that the list is either inaccurately copied or notations were added by the copier from his subsequent knowledge.

Among the other names that occur are Rosewell, a son probably of the Head Master; four Angelows, probably sons or other relatives of the Vice-Provost, Dr. Ingelo, before mentioned; Corsellis, probably Nicholas Corsellis, M.P. for Colchester, 1714; Sir John Price, Bart., of Newtown, co. Montgomery, who two years later was a married man; Sir John Conway, Bart., of Bodrythnan, co. Flint, who matriculated at Christ Church in 1679, and was M.P. for Flintshire, or Flint, with short exceptions, from 1685 to 1721; Sir Roderick Puleston, by which is probably intended Sir Roger Puleston, of Emrall, Flint, grandson of Sir John Puleston, Judge of the Common Pleas; and Lord Alexander, the son of the Earl of Stirling. Another of Rosewell's pupils elected to King's in 1675 was William Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, who died in 1723. In 1678 Dr. Rosewell obtained a canonry at Windsor, and in 1682 resigned the headmastership. According to a rumour of the day his resignation was caused by his

falling into a fit of melancholy madness, in consequence of having killed a boy by immoderate flogging, and fancying that the King's messengers were coming to arrest him. The story does not sound very probable, and the less so as he was elected a Fellow of Eton in 1683. He died in the succeeding year, leaving his valuable library to Corpus Christi College Oxford, and £300 for "the use and benefit of Eton College School."

From 1681 to 1695 the Provost was Dr. Zacharias Cradock, who had been, as we have noticed before, elected Fellow on the King's recommendation in 1671; his chief qualification for the office of Provost seems to have been his eloquence in the pulpit. Before his election Waller had made another attempt to obtain the place, but this time he was defeated by the Privy Council declaring that it was contrary to the Act of Uniformity for a layman to be Provost.

Charles Roderick, who had been Usher, was appointed to succeed Rosewell, and reigned till 1690. Cole, the antiquary, who was an Etonian, says he was "an excellent scholar, yet never had the courage to preach one sermon, though he composed not a few." He appears to have believed in the virtues of the rod, for he is referred to, in newspapers of the time, as "the flogging Schoolmaster of Welsh extraction, with a Spanish name."

During his headmastership, in 1686, and again in 1688, James II. touched for the evil at Eton. On the former occasion six of Roderick's pupils underwent the ceremony. Their names are given as John Juxon, Robert Lee, Edward Smith, Richard Gore, and the Honourable Mr. Charles Cecill and Mr. George Cecill.

From the manuscripts of the House of Lords it appears that at this time there were in the school William and Charles Cecil, younger brothers of the fourth Earl of Salisbury. Lady Burlington, in an action against Lord Salisbury, complained that they had been removed by him from Eton school and sent abroad. Lord Salisbury's answer was to

produce a letter from the two boys, and tender the evidence of Dr. Tillotson at the bar of the House of Lords, to the effect that the boys had come "to my Lord's at Whitsuntide, and were unwilling to return, complaining of their Tutor; that he had gone to Eton and spoke to the Master and Tutor to use them gently, whereupon Mr. William Cecil told him he would stay a year or two there." The author of *Etoniana* states that the two boys touched for the evil were sons of Lord Exeter, but they do not appear in the Exeter pedigree, so it seems most likely that they are these two brothers of the Salisbury family. Among Roderick's other pupils may be mentioned Edward Waddington, Bishop of Winchester, and Francis Hare, Bishop of Chichester, who were Fellows both of Eton and King's.

Among the pastimes of the boys at this time we hear of the hunting of the ram. The College butcher had to provide a ram at Election, to be hunted by the boys and killed with clubs. There is a bill for extras of a boy called Patrick preserved among the Tanner MSS. of the years 1687–88, receipted by John Newborough, who was then an Assistant Master, in which 9d. is charged for a bat and ram club. And Mr. Wightman Wood, in his *Sketches of Eton*, gives the following amusing letter, dated July 21st, 1687, from a boy called Edward Wood to his father:—

"HONORED SIR,—This is to acquaent you that the electione being near att hand, which is our usuall vacation from business and with your leave a time appointed for home enjoyments, and prosuming opon an old custome that you will be pleased to grant this, I further request you to send y^e^ horses for us, that they may be here to-morrow about noon, which will make our journey far more pleasant and att y^e^ least give us y^e^ satisfaction of seeing y^e^ ram die here, as is according to custome. I hope you will not think this my request unreasonable and therefore will gratifie me, giving my duty to my honoured mother and my service to my cousen, and my kind love to my brothers and sisters, who am, sir, youre most dutifull son EDWARD WOOD."

This letter shows that at this date it still depended on the parents of a boy whether he went home for the holidays or not. It is interesting also to notice the use of the word "business" for the school work, for it is still used in that sense at Eton; "private business" means some work done with a boy's tutor outside the regular school work; and in the school almanack, on the Thursday before the Eton and Harrow match, appears always the note "Friday's Business," which means that in consequence of the holiday on the Friday, Thursday is a whole school-day, with Friday's lessons. Huggett's account of the custom, written in 1760, says that "by reason of the Ram's crossing the Thames and running through Windsor Market Place with the scholars after it, where some mischief was done; as also by long courses in that hot season the health of some of the scholars being thereby thought endangered, about thirty years ago, the Ram was hamstrung, and after the Speech, was with large clubs knocked on the head in Stable Yard. But this carrying a shew of barbarity in it, the Custom was entirely left off in the Election of 1747; but the Ram, as usual, is served up in Pasties at the high Table in the Hall.

"Browne Willis, Esq., the great Antiquarian, would derive this Custom from what is (or was) used in the manour of East Wrotham, Norfolk (the Rectory, and I believe the man^{r}, of which belongs to this College), where the Lord of the Manour after Harvest gives half an Acre of Barley and a Ram to the Tenants thereof; the which Ram if they caught it was their own; if not it was for the Lord again."

In October, 1689, Roderick was elected Provost of King's, and his place was taken by John Newborough, then an Assistant. The election of Roderick is remarkable, because it was the first occasion for many years that the Fellows of King's succeeded in exercising their statutory right of election in the teeth of the Crown.

Newborough is the first Head Master of whom any very

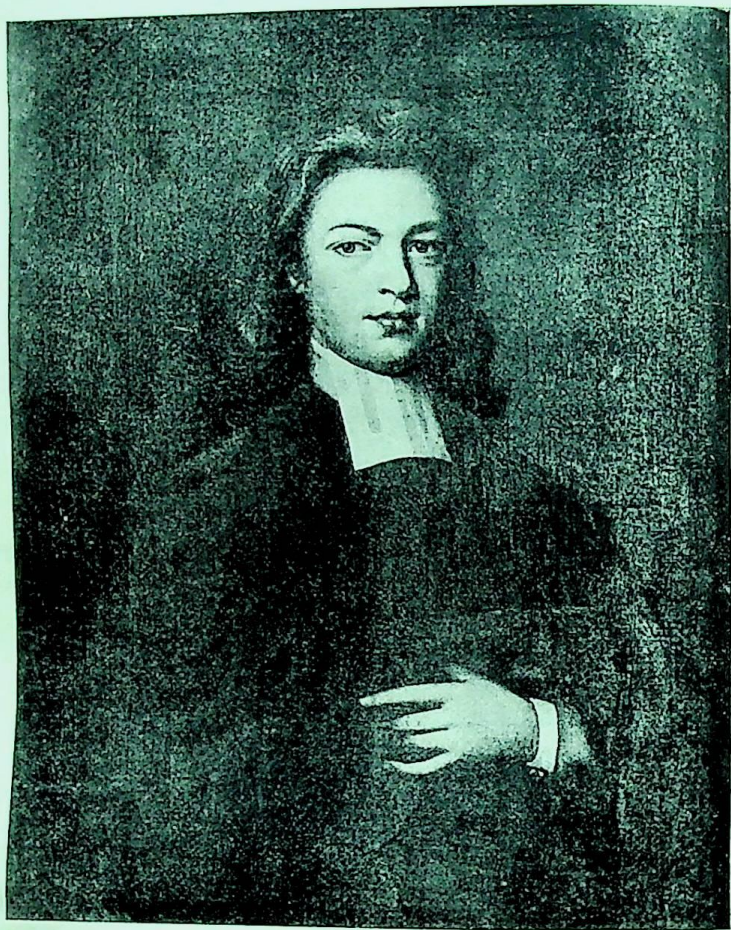
complete account has been preserved. Among his pupils was Richard Rawlinson, the antiquary, who at one time projected a work to be entitled *Antiquitates et Athenae Etonenses*, and circulated as a specimen of it an account of his former Head Master. He says of him :—

"He was of a graceful person and comely aspect; had a presence fit to awe the numerous tribe over which he presided; grave was he in his behaviour and irreproachable in his life; very pathetical were his reproofs, and dispassionate his corrections; and when any hopes of amendment appeared he declined severe remedies. He always chose, in the places (*i.e.*, the scholarships on the foundation) to which as master he had a right of collation, those youths whose industry, modesty, and good behaviour rendered them remarkable, and that so far from being moved by their parents' and friends' application made to him, that even without their knowledge he frequently conferred his place on them. Careful he was to the greatest exactness and rigidness imaginable, of the morals of the youths committed to his charge; nor in the common school exercises was a light airy wit so much aimed at, as good sound sense and grave reflections; the one he knew to be the sparkling flashes of conversation, the other the happy earnest of a person likely to serve his country and prove an ornament to it. He was nicely if not scrupulously regardful of the health of his scholars; and by a prudent care were fevers (very incident to young and warm blood) and other distempers under God escaped and avoided upon which so happy a state of health ensued, that out of about 400 boys for three years' space I remember but one death. . . . Generous and hospitable was he, and knew as gracefully how to dispose of his money as to receive it. To poorer lads on the Foundation he was known to be very noble in supplying them with proper books and other necessaries, and that in good quantity, being rightly apprised that the quickest natural parts might be cramped through the *res angusta domi*.

"To all who took their leave of him handsomely it was his custom to present some book wherein he accurately remarked the bent of the receiver. But whatever the value of the present was, it was of no worth in comparison of the advice which he gave with it. It was then in earnest we heard a repetition of our miscarriages, while with serene goodness he proposed seasonable remedies for our

future avoidance of them, and wherever he discerned any marks of a promising virtue he gave strong advice to improve the growing seeds. But let us take a nearer view of him abstracted from his school in his private capacity; here was his conversation elegant and polite, his temper affable; versed in men equally as books, equidistant from the two monstrous extremes of pedantry and modesty falsely so called. Much, indeed, unlike most of his profession, who aim at nought beyond the narrow sphere of their schools. . . . The great affection he bore to his place he has amply showed by the donation of his excellent classical library to the School; nor could his gratitude to his mother the Church of England be more nobly expressed than in his munificent legacy for the augmentation of vicarages in the gift of Eton College."

A note or two on this very hearty commendation of an old Schoolmaster may not be out of place. The difference between the health of the boys even under Newborough's care and at the present time must be considerable. The burials of boys recorded in the chapel register, during the thirty years of his headmastership, are thirteen. This is the first time we hear of "leaving books," a kindly custom which still continues, the Head Master presenting some privately printed book to each boy when he takes leave; it is usually now the works of Gray, the typically Eton poet. The custom of "leaving money" fortunately was abolished in 1868, up to which time the "leaving book" was paid for by the stealthy deposit of a £10 note on the Head Master's table. The books left by Newborough to the school formed the first Boys' Library, and some of them still remain among the present collection.

It seems to have been during Newborough's headmastership that Eton first became that nursery of statesmen which it is still her boast to be. Sir Robert Walpole, his younger brother Horatio, afterwards Lord Walpole, Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, Sir Willam Wyndham, Charles Viscount Townshend and his two brothers Roger and Horace, who boarded with Mrs. Ann Newborough, were

GEORGE HARRIS, K.S.
SHEWING THE DRESS OF A COLLEGER CIRCA 1700

FROM THE PORTRAIT IN THE AUDIT ROOM AT ETON

all at Eton at this period, and to them may be added Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, and Thomas Fane, afterwards sixth Earl of Westmoreland, and his brother John. Newborough seems to have had a high opinion of Robert Walpole's talents, for he wrote to a correspondent, on being told that St. John and others of his pupils were already making themselves heard in Parliament, "But I am impatient to hear that Robert Walpole has spoken, for I am convinced he will be a good orator."

Of another of Newborough's pupils, Richard Barrett, there is or was a schoolboy letter to his father, Dacre Barrett, preserved among the MSS. of Sir Thomas Barrett Lennard, of Belhus, Essex, an extract from which is worth quoting:—

"September 1st, 1700, Eaton. I received the suit of cloaths which you sent me, for which I return thanks; they fit me very well and are of a genteel colour. I believe that the Mildmays are quite down in the mouth for I never hear Cottrell bragging as he used. Sir Charles was here at election and took his son to Sir William Trumball's, but did not see me."

With the large number of boys in the school at this time it is plain that the Head Master and Usher were not sufficient to teach by themselves, and there must have been several Assistants. There are a considerable number of the Scholars of King's whom Harwood notes as Assistants in the school, but it is possible that his sources of information were not always accurate, for it seems unlikely that during the first fifty or sixty years of the school's history that the Head Master and Usher would be insufficient, and yet three Scholars of King's within that period are noted by him as Assistants. At this date, however, we are on more certain ground. Some of these Assistants, such as Thomas Johnson and William Willymot, edited classics or wrote books for use in the school, such as *Examples fitted to Lilly's Grammar*, *Novus Graecorum Epigrammatum et Poematum Delectus*, first published in 1680, of which an edition was issued as

late as 1822, and editions of *Phædrus*, *Terence*, and *Ovid*. The *Electa ex Ovidio*, that many Etonians must remember using, first appeared in 1701, and was published at Newborough's expense in London, and by John Slatter, the Eton bookseller. The book, though no longer used in the school, still appears in the Eton bookseller's list, a striking instance of conservatism.

It may be due to Newborough's solicitude for his pupils' health that, when a fund was raised in 1689 to rebuild the Upper School, the following passage was inserted in the appeal for subscriptions:—"There is a building within twelve or fourteen yards of the Long Chamber which may be turned into an infirmary, with accommodation enough for ten or twelve at a time, which is more than anyone can remember to have been sick in the College at once." This building was no doubt the stable shown in Loggan's view of Eton (see Frontispiece), where the lodge at the entrance of Weston's Yard now stands. It was proposed at the same time to turn the Lower School into an additional dormitory for Scholars and Choristers, but neither this nor the infirmary scheme were ever carried out. The expenses of the rebuilding of Upper School were defrayed, partly by Dr. Rosewell's legacy of £300, partly by contributions from the College and subscriptions from the outside public. The names of Lord Godolphin, Lord Chief Justice Holt, Dr. Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, Lord Hyde, and several other peers appear among the subscribers. In 1691 the building was finished, and after some domestic discussion a second porter was engaged to keep the door under the archway, a very necessary precaution if, as Dr. Cradock says, "In Mr. Rosewell's time the Schollers had frequently bottles of wine drawn up to their windows in baskets (though they are lockt in), and that is not to be prevented as long as their chamber lies open on both sides. In Dr. Roderick's time they got a false key to their own door,

and went four or five abroad at midnight, for which severall were expelled."

Provost Cradock died in 1695, and was buried in the Chapel; his portrait by Sir Peter Lely is in the Provost's Lodge. On October 23rd in that year the Fellows obeyed the royal mandamus and elected Henry Godolphin Provost, who was the brother of the famous Lord Godolphin and then Vice-Provost. He was much beloved and was a generous benefactor to the College; besides erecting the statue of the Founder in School Yard and giving a considerable subscription to the fund for rebuilding Upper School, he gave in 1700 the munificent sum of £1000 towards the repairs and additions that were then made in the Chapel. A great deal of work must have been done at this time, for the total sum expended was over £3000. The Chapel was wainscoted throughout, a huge organ gallery erected, with a large wooden altar canopy blocking part of the east window, and high pews, the floor was paved with black and white marble, and thus the interior remained till the restoration of this century.

In 1711 his ill-health compelled Newborough to carry out his long-expressed desire of retiring. He died in the next year and was buried at Hitcham, in Bucks, where his epitaph records that he had been Master of the School of Eton, which through him was the greatest in the world.

Newborough was succeeded by a man of considerable fame in his time, though now hardly remembered, Dr. Andrew Snape. He was Chaplain to Queen Anne, and, when in 1717 Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, preached his famous latitudinarian sermon, entered the theological field against him. The war of pamphlets and sermons that ensued threw the theological and political worlds into an uproar. The war was waged with a conspicuous absence of good feeling. Letters addressed to the Scholars of Eton, comparisons of Snape to Orbilius, and sneers at his ancestry (his family had been for two hundred years "Sergeant-farriers" to the King) are among the con-

troversial gems; while on the other hand Thomas Thackeray, one of the Assistant Masters, whose sympathies were against the Head Master, found himself obliged to resign, and was afterwards perhaps the most remarkable of the many Head Masters for whom Harrow has been indebted to Eton. Snape lost his royal chaplaincy by his orthodox zeal, and so did Sherlock, then Dean of Carlisle. There are in the College Library four volumes of pamphlets and tracts relating to this controversy, which were collected and bequeathed by Bishop Waddington.

Snape's mother and afterwards his sister kept a "Dame's" house, *i.e.*, a boarding-house, at Eton. "Boarding dames" they are styled in the Chapel Registers of this date. The school seems to have flourished under his rule, which lasted till 1720, when he was elected Provost of King's. On his retiring he is said to have entered a town boy's name on the school list, without consulting his parents, to make up the exact number of 400. No list of this year is known to be in existence, but one of the previous year preserved in the library at Eton shows the names of 353 boys. Since the list of 1678 the form known as the "Remove" had been invented, the respective forms at this date being "Bible Seat," "First Form," "Lower Remove," "Second Form," "Lower Greek," "Third Form," "Fourth Form," "Remove," "Fifth Form," and "Sixth Form." There were eight Assistant Masters, four for the Upper, four for the Lower School.

CHAPTER X.

DR. BLAND, HEAD MASTER—DECLAMATIONS—LORD CHATHAM AND HIS BROTHER—DR. GEORGE—JACOB BRYANT, HORACE WALPOLE, GRAY, ASHTON, AND WEST—ROYAL VISITS—ELECTIONS TO PROVOSTSHIPS OF KING'S.

THE next Head Master was Dr. Henry Bland, who came from a similar position at Doncaster School. He was an Etonian and Kingsman, and had been a friend at school of Sir Robert Walpole. The year was that of the South Sea bubble, and the increase for a time of the class of wealthy men had its effect in sending up the numbers of the school to 425; but the next year, when the crash came, they fell to 375. William Cole, the antiquary, who while a boy at Eton was beginning his collections of antiquities, speaks of Bland as a man of "fine and stately presence," and an elegant Latin scholar. Bishop Hare styles him *eruditissimum virum*. A specimen of his Latin verses may be seen in No. 628 of the *Spectator*, in the shape of a version in hexameters of the soliloquy of Cato in Addison's play. He introduced into the school a new system of "Declamations," in which the boys had to maintain opposite sides of an argument. The argument seems to have been sometimes carried on with great warmth; it led on one occasion to a great quarrel between two Sixth form Collegers—Thomas Morell, the future lexicographer, and William Battie, afterwards a well-known physician, and founder of the scholarships at Cambridge that bear his name. The two boys came

to blows, and "after a fair set-to," says Morell, "I knocked his head against the Chapel wall, which settled the affair for the present." However, Battie's mother, who lived in the town, interfered on her son's behalf, and three days after paid out Morell with "a swinging slap in the face" as he was going into Chapel. Mrs. Battie must have been rather a terror to Head Masters, for on one occasion she attacked Dr. Snape for having, as she said, postponed an examination while Morell stayed out with a toothache, whereby her son lost the chance of getting above him.

"Declamations" having been abolished in 1883, it may be worth while to say in a few lines what they were. They consisted of Latin speeches recited in Upper School by two members of Sixth form, and upholding each one side of some question more or less trite. Like the Disputations for degrees at Oxford, they degenerated into something of a form, for in many cases they were written, not by the boys who delivered them, but by their tutors. In a volume of those delivered between 1748 and 1758, now in the College Library, once in the possession of Dr. Heath, there is a note against those of 1754, saying that from that time the boys made their own declamations; but it is stated that at the beginning of Hawtrey's headmastership they were again often written by Assistant Masters. In later years they were written by the boys and submitted to some junior master for revision, and were delivered by the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Collegers in order of seniority; the Captain was excused as Captain, and the Second Colleger because he had to make "Cloister Speech." Provost Davies, who died in 1809, founded a prize for them, and no doubt that prolonged their life. In the last stage of their existence they were thrown open to Oppidans, and became a voluntary prize, for which no one would enter. The original idea of them seems to have been to show the Provost and Fellows, before whom they were delivered, the progress in learning that the boys were

making. "Responsions," "Disputations," and "Determinations" were an integral part of all mediæval university and grammar school teaching, and the Founder specially provided by statute XIV. that in every year on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (July 7th), a disputation in grammar should be publicly held between two senior scholars in the presence of all the boys who were learning grammar, and of other visitors. The presence of the public seems to have been rather jealously guarded against in modern times, if at least that be the meaning of the somewhat ceremonious shutting of the doors of Upper School at Declamations by the two junior Collegers in "Liberty," and their cautious opening to admit the Provost, Fellows, Head Master, and Lower Master.

In 1719 and the succeeding years William Pitt, afterwards the great Lord Chatham, and his elder brother, Thomas Pitt, were at Eton. William Pitt seems, as a boy, to have had but feeble health, and to have been unable to take part in active sports. He can have had no great liking for his old school if Lord Shelburne correctly reports him to have said, "That he scarce observed a boy who was not cowed for life at Eton; that a public school might suit a boy of turbulent forward disposition, but would not do where there was any gentleness." His Tutor wrote of him, in 1722, in a letter to his father: "Your younger son has made a great progress since his coming hither, indeed I never was concerned with a young gentleman of so good a disposition, and there is no question to be made but he will answer all your hopes." One is bound to say that a letter written by the "young gentleman" himself, who was then nearly fifteen, hardly does credit to Thomas Ridgeley, the Writing Master, for its spelling leaves much to be desired.

There are one or two bills for school expenses of William Pitt that have been preserved; one of them is printed in full by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte; they amount to about £30

each half-year, which seems moderate enough. Still more moderate is a bill of Walter Gough (a cousin of the antiquary), who boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Bartlet in 1725. It amounts to £22 5s. 4d., of which two guineas are to Dr. Bland "for half a year's teaching," ten to his "Dominie" or boarding-house master for board and study, and one to the writing master. Charges for servants, "fire in his chamber," and candles are separate. He had a shilling a week pocket-money and half a guinea extra at Easter. At Blenheim there is an account, for 1722, for the "Honourable Mr. Charles and Mr. John Spencer's board, etc., at Eton," which amounted to £37 3s. 10d. Their board cost them £17 6s. 2d., rent for their chamber £1 15s., to the Head Master two guineas and a half, while their bookseller's bill was 14s. They boarded with Mrs. Mary Naylor, who seems to have still been a "dame" as late as 1768.

John Spencer was the favourite grandson of the terrible old Duchess Sarah, who left him all the property she could. Horace Walpole says, in a letter of 1746, that he was then "just dead at the age of six or seven and thirty, and in possession of over £30,000 a year, merely because he would not be abridged of those invaluable blessings of an English subject, brandy, small beer, and tobacco." Charles Spencer succeeded to the dukedom.

Among other distinguished Etonians of this date may be mentioned Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Chancellor Camden; George Lyttelton, afterwards Lord Lyttelton; and Henry Fox, the future Lord Holland. To these must be added Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, statesman, *litterateur*, and *bon vivant;* Dr. Arne, the well-known musician; and last, Henry Fielding, the novelist. Lord Camden, on his first coming to Eton, boarded with Joseph Pote, the antiquarian College bookseller, but subsequently became a Colleger.

In 1728 Walpole's friendship brought Dr. Bland the Deanery of Durham, and he thereupon resigned the head-

mastership, and was succeeded by Dr. William George, one of the Assistant Masters. Dr. George was an elegant scholar, specially skilled in the making of Latin verses. There is a curious story told of a copy written by him on the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and addressed to the Prince, afterwards George III. They were shown to Pope Benedict XIV., himself a good classical scholar, who was so delighted with them that he declared that if the author had been a Catholic he would have made him a Cardinal. As that was impossible he sent for a Cardinal's hat, and invested the verses themselves. The lines may be seen in the earlier series of *Musae Etonenses.*

He does not appear to have been a very successful Head Master. Lord Camden, who was his pupil, says of him: "He undertook the care of that school without parts, of the kind I mean that was necessary to govern it. This brought him under difficulties, from which he had not either sense or spirit enough to extricate himself. These plagues and vexations wrought upon his temper and made him sour. His absurdity, the gift of Nature, still remained, and by working upon a mind crossed by ill-success, made him not only foolish, but proud, ill-mannerly, and brutal."

There appears to have been a rebellion in the school in 1729, but what exactly took place does not seem to be recorded. There is a letter of John Hervey, first Earl of Bristol, to his wife, dated from Ickworth, August 30th, 1729, in which the following passage occurs:—

"Felle (*i.e.*, their sixth son Felton) sent me an account of the Schollars' rebellion at Eaton, which is without a precedent, and wherein Dr. George's conduct seems so weak as to invite another. Altho' Lord Sherrard promised fair, yet Felle tells me when your back was turned he made a jest of what had passed, and told Lutterel every word that you, the Dr., and Mr. Young had said to him and of Lutterel, who now makes Felle the ridicule of the whole school. This procedure of the young lord is so false and base

throughout that it affords pregnant proof he is not likely to degenerate. What can be said or done more in this affair at present I know not, the whole government of the school being in such a state of anarchy."

Dr. George's ill-manners and brutality are sufficiently attested by Nichols' story of the answer he made to a lady who quoted Latin verses to him: "Madam, if you were in the lowest form of the Upper School I should lay you upon our block for that recitation, which contains in three lines two false quantities, and the same number of concords equally false." It is plain that ingenuous learning had not softened his manners. Probably enough it was owing to Dr. George's unpopularity that the school sank in numbers. At Christmas, 1742, there were only 284 boys, of whom 131 were in the Upper School, 153 in the Lower. There were three Assistant Masters in each part of the school.

Nichols tells another story of Frederick, Prince of Wales, coming over from Clifden House, where he was then residing, to call on Dr. George, but finding the Head Master was in school he went and peeped through the holes in the door of Upper School, and was much amused to hear the energetic and sonorous delivery affected by the Head Master in expounding Homer.

Among Dr. George's pupils there are several famous names, Thomas Gray, Horace Walpole, and the other two of the "quadruple alliance," Richard West and Thomas Ashton; George and Henry Montagu, Walpole's friends and correspondents; the Marquis of Granby, the soldiers' friend; Sir William Draper, one of Clive's officers and the opponent of "Junius"; Lord Sandwich, the "sly Jemmy Twitcher" of Gray's pasquinade; and Jacob Bryant, the great scholar and mythologist. Nor must we omit to mention the famous admiral, Lord Howe; Archdeacon Coxe, the historian of Sir Robert Walpole and Marlborough; and Christopher Anstey, the author of the *New Bath Guide*.

Jacob Bryant was an expert swimmer in spite of his small and delicate frame, and once saved the life of the future Provost Barnard, when he was in imminent risk of drowning.

There is an amusing story told by Miss Burney of a visit paid to him in his old age, at Cippenham, by George III.:—"'You were an Etonian, Mr. Bryant,' said the King, 'but pray for what were you most famous at school?' We all expected, from the celebrity of his scholarship, to hear him answer—his Latin exercises; but no such thing! 'Cudgelling, sir; I was most famous for that.' While a general laugh followed this speech, he very gravely proceeded to particularize his feats: though unless you could see the diminutive figure, the weak, thin, feeble little frame whence issued this proclamation of his prowess, you can but very inadequately judge of the comic effect of his big talk. 'Your Majesty, sir, knows General Conway? [Horace Walpole's friend.] I broke his head for him, sir!' The shout which ensued did not at all interfere with the steadiness of his further detail. 'And there's another man, sir—a great stout fellow, sir, as ever you saw—Dr. Gibbon, of the Temple—I broke his head too, sir; I don't know if he remembers it.'"

But most Etonian of Etonians was Horace Walpole; all his life through he preserved his affection for the nurse of his youth. He left Eton in September, 1734, and went to King's the following March. Gray and Ashton went also to Cambridge, but the fourth of the friends, West, went to Oxford, and to him Walpole writes depreciatingly of Cambridge as compared with Eton. The two Universities are barbarous towns o'errun with rusticity and mathematics. Cambridge has not the least poetry and there is no quadruple alliance, "that was a happiness I only enjoyed when you was at Eton." And again, "Gray is at Burnham, and what is surprising has not been at Eton. Could you live so near it without seeing it? That dear scene of our quadruple alliance would furnish me with the most agreeable recollections."

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Again he writes to Montagu: "Alexander, at the head of the world, never tasted the true pleasure that boys of his own age have enjoyed at the head of a school. Little intrigues, little schemes, and policies engage their thoughts; and at the same time that they are laying the foundation for their middle age of life the mimic republic they live in furnishes materials of conversation for their latter age." But in spite of these pleasures he felt that there was another world, and adds: "I can't say I am sorry I was never quite a schoolboy; an expedition against bargemen or a match at cricket may be very pretty things to recollect, but thank my stars I can remember things that are very near as pretty."

Another time he writes to West from Siena of a Jesuits' College, where the boys "are disposed in long chambers in the manner of Eton, but cleaner." Again there is the letter to George Montagu, almost a *locus classicus*, dated from the Christopher Inn:—

"The Christopher; Lord! how great I used to think anybody just arrived at the Christopher! But there are no boys for me to send for—here I am, like Noah, just returned into his old world again, with all sorts of queer feels about me. By the way, the clock strikes the old cracked sound. I recollect so much and remember so little, and want to play about, and am so afraid of my playfellows, and am ready to shirk Ashton, and can't help *making fun* of myself, and envy a dame over the way, that has just locked in her boarders, and is going to sit down in a little hot parlour to a very bad supper so comfortably! And I could be so jolly a dog if I did not *fat*, which, by the way, is the first time the word was ever applicable to me. In short, I should be out of all *bounds* if I was to tell you half I feel—how young again I am one minute, and how old the next. But do come and feel with me, when you will—to-morrow—Adieu! If I don't compose myself a little more before Sunday morning when Ashton is to preach, I shall certainly be in the bill for laughing in church; but how to help it, to see him in the pulpit when, the last time I saw him here, he was standing up, funking over against a conduct to be catechised."

Gray was of a very different turn of mind from the volatile Walpole; his well-known *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* is filled with the pensive melancholy that seems to have been his through life. Like Walpole, he seems to have preferred Eton to Cambridge; Eton, where he says he first felt his strong predilection for poetry, when he began to read Virgil for his own amusement, and not in school hours as a task. Gray would have felt with one of our living Etonian poets what it is to be an Eton boy:—

> "For you shall Shakespeare's scene unroll,
> Mozart shall steal your vanished soul,
> Homer his bardic hymn rehearse,
> Virgil recite his maiden verse."

Besides playing cricket and fighting with bargees, Eton boys must have played football also, for Walpole, the first time he sees a balloon, is reminded of "an Eton football." And to these sports must be added those enumerated by Gray in the *Ode*:—

> "Say, father Thames, for thou hast seen
> Full many a sprightly race
> Disporting on thy margent green
> The paths of pleasure trace,
> Who foremost now delight to cleave
> With pliant arm thy glassy wave?
> The captive linnet which enthral?
> What idle progeny succeed
> To chase the rolling circle's speed
> Or urge the flying ball?"

In 1730 the Duke of Cumberland was present at the hunting of the ram, and took part in the slaughter, being presented with a ram club by the Captain of the School. The disposition that was manifested at Culloden had perhaps already begun to be seen, for the veracious chronicler remarks that "it was generally observed that H.R.H. returned to Windsor very well pleased." The Duke was no doubt brought by his Governor, Stephen Poyntz, an Etonian and Kingsman. They came again with a distinguished company

at Election 1735, and were entertained in Election Chamber to breakfast. This was followed by recitations and declamations by the boys in Election Hall, which so gratified the company, that at the dinner which followed the guests made a collection of about 140 guineas for the fourteen speakers, and £100 for the College.

One memorial of the Duke of Cumberland existed till about twenty years ago in the shape of the green rugs, which till the abolition of Long Chamber were displayed each year on the Collegers' beds in Election week; they were burnt in the Brewhouse fire in 1875.

One tragic event marked the year 1730 that a tomb in the churchyard records, viz., the death of "Edward Cochran, only son of Archibald Cochran, Esqr., of the island Antigua, in America, who unfortunately lost his life by an accidental stab with a penknife from one of his schoolfellows." The Chapel Register says more bluntly, it is to be hoped less truly, that he was "murdered by Thos. Dalton, his schoolfellow."

The method of obtaining an assistant mastership at this time, at least in the Lower School, receives curious illustration from an advertisement in the London *Evening Post* of November 9th, 1731, preserved among the Sloane MSS.:—

"Whereas Mr. Franc. Goode, under-master of Eaton, does hereby signify that there will be at Christmas next, or soon after, two vacancies in his school, viz., as assistants to him and tutors to the young gents.; if any two gentlemen of either University (who have commenced the degree of B.A. at least) shall think themselves duly qualified, and are desirous of such an employment, let them enquire of John Potts, pickleman in Gracious Street, or at Mr. G.'s own house in Eaton College, where they may purchase the same at a reasonable rate, and on conditions fully to their own satisfaction.

"F. Goode.

"N.B.—It was very erroneously reported that the last place was disposed of under 40s."

Probably the gentlemen who were desirous of such employment recouped themselves by the presents that they got from

the parents of their pupils, but the whole procedure reminds one rather of the conditions of employment of the waiters at a fashionable restaurant.

In 1732 Provost Godolphin's long reign came to an end, and he was succeeded in his office by Dr. Bland, the former Head Master and then Dean of Durham.

In 1743 there was a severe contest for the provostship of King's between Dr. George, the Head Master, and two others, which resulted in a victory for Dr. George, after a solemn conclave of the Fellows which lasted thirty-one hours. The conclave met in the chapel, and a description of the scene given by one of Nichols' correspondents is worth quotation:—

"A friend of mine, a curious man, tells me he took a survey of his brothers at the hour of two in the morning, and that never was a more curious or a more diverting spectacle. Some wrapped in blankets erect in their stalls like mummies, others asleep on cushions like so many Gothic tombs; here a red cap over a wig, there a face lost in the cape of a rug; one blowing a chafing-dish with a surplice sleeve, another warming a little negus or sipping 'Coke upon Littleton,' *i.e.*, tent and brandy. Thus did they combat the cold of that frosty night, which has not killed any of them, to my infinite surprise."

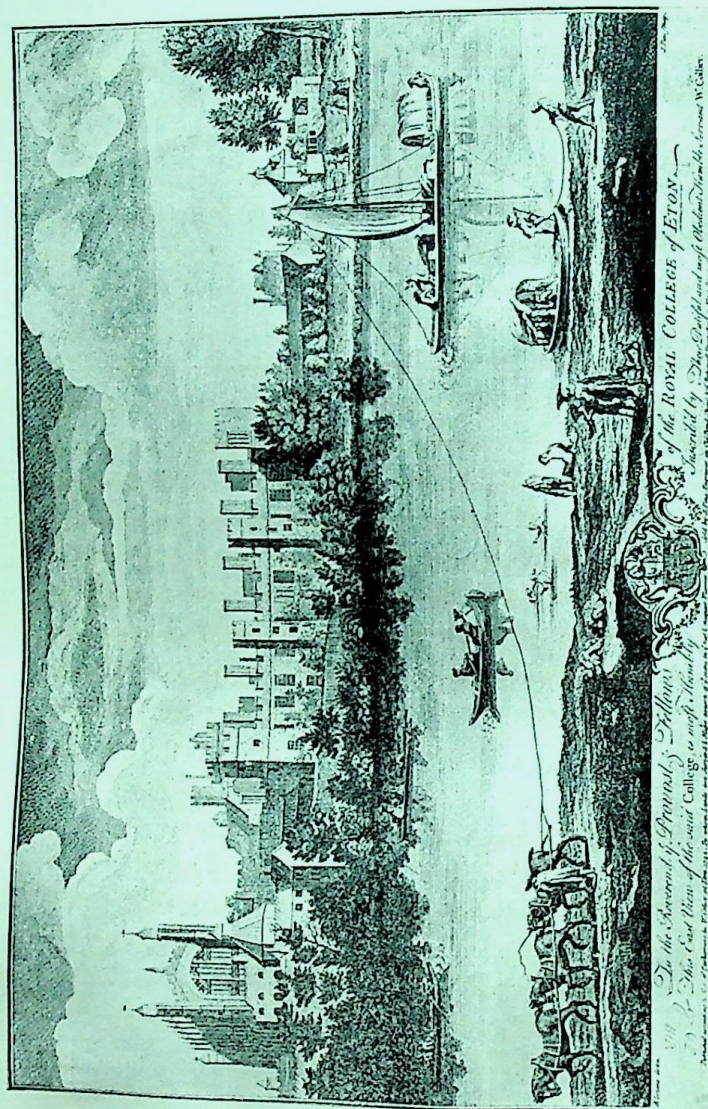
It is amusing to compare with this Mr. Arthur Coleridge's account of an incident in the contest between Dr. Okes and Harry Dupuis in 1850:—

"On the eventful morning of the election we were all of us assembled in chapel, where for the first time for many years old Hunt [the Senior Fellow] appeared swathed in flannel and coats under a short and ill-fitting surplice. It was a strange apparition, but Hunt was bent on recording, if possible, his vote for Okes as against the supposed Frenchman. I think the service had only proceeded as far as the *Venite* when old Hunt was seen to be fumbling for his stick and fidgeting, obviously with the view of getting

away from the scene of action. To our great amusement the old gentleman slowly and deliberately walked down nearly the whole length of the chapel (for he had ensconced himself in the very last seat on the north side), so that his movements were in full evidence before the whole college, and the exit from chapel was quite a public performance. The Fellows remained in chapel, after the fashion of the Cardinals at an election of the Pope, and we scholars withdrew when the service was over. I addressed old Hunt sympathetically, for I knew he was for my man: 'Why, sir, couldn't you stay and vote for Okes?' 'Couldn't stand it, sir; the organ made such a d——d row.'"

Dr. George was succeeded in the headmastership by William Cooke, one of the Assistant Masters. He only retained the post about two years, when he resigned through ill-health, and retired to the College living of Sturminster Marshall, in Dorset. Cole, the antiquarian, who had, as Nichols says, "an implacable aversion to him," has left a very spiteful paragraph about him in his MSS., some of which is plainly untrue; but it is likely enough that he was "a formal important Pedant, who will be a Schoolmaster in whatever station of life his fortune may advance him to." In 1747 he obtained a fellowship at Eton, and in 1772 was elected Provost of King's. It appears, however, that he was not a successful Master, and that the school fell off in numbers and repute during his reign; at the end of it there were only 244 boys in the school. John Sumner, the Lower Master, was Cooke's successor in the headmastership, and curiously enough his predecessor in the provostship of King's.

In 1747 George II. paid a visit to the College, at Election, thus described in the *Daily Advertiser*:—

"1747, August 11th, King George II. visited the College and school of Eton, when on short notice, Master Slater, of Bedford, Master Masham, of Reading, and Master Williams, of London, spoke each a Latin speech (most probably made by their Masters),

ETON COLLEGE FROM ROMNEY ISLAND, 1742

SHEWING THE CLOISTER QUADRANGLE BEFORE THE BUILDING OF THE ADDITIONAL STOREY AND THE COLLEGE DOVECOTE

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY J. FINE AFTER ALEXANDER COZENS

with which His Majesty seemed exceedingly well pleased, and obtained for them a week's holiday. To the young orators five guineas each had been more acceptable."

One may, perhaps, doubt whether the King, who hated "boetry and bainting," was quite as well pleased as the reporter thought. Sumner, during his nine years' mastership, raised the numbers of the school to 350. One of Sumner's pupils, Philip Hall, only son and heir of Sir Philip Hall, Knight, was a ward of the Court of Chancery, and the Registers of the Decrees of that Court contain a dry record of his troubles with the school authorities. It appears that the Court allowed his guardian Thomas Lennard Barrett, Esquire, £100 per annum for his education and maintenance, and that the guardian "for the better educating of the s^{d} Plt. Philip in March, 1747, placed him at Eaton school and appointed the R^{evd} M^{r} Apthorp there to be his Tutor. That the s^{d} Plt. Philip Hall continued at the s^{d} school till the breaking up at Whitsuntide last, but has not since returned there, and as a reason of his absence alleged that he has not been promoted in the s^{d} school according to abilities which upon information from his Tutor, appears to be without foundation." This was the matter as reported by the Master, and when on Monday, July 31st, 1748, the infant attended His Lordship in person, His Lordship ordered "That the s^{d} Plt. Philip Hall, the Infant, do return back to Eaton School in a fortnight and be put under the care and education of such persons as the s^{d} M^{r} Barrett his guardian placed him under."

More distinguished pupils of Sumner were the first Marquis of Cornwallis, one of the few generals who earned fame in the American War of Independence; and Lord North, the statesman, a copy of verses by whom may be seen in Herbert's collection of *Musae Etonenses;* John Foster, afterward Head Master; Robert Carey Sumner, and Elias Thackeray, both Head Masters of Harrow; and Sir James

Mansfield, appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1804.

The Provost, from 1746–65, was Dr. Stephen Sleech, who owed his success in life to the lucky accident of being son of Dr. Richard Sleech, who was once Assistant and afterwards Fellow. The family, to judge from what Harwood says of Dr. Richard, did pretty well out of this and the sister foundation. His father was organist at Eton; his mother, when a widow, married Newborough, the Head Master; his sister married Bishop Weston, then Lower Master; he himself, besides being a Scholar of Eton and King's, was Assistant Master and Fellow, and holder of a College living. He married a daughter of Stephen Upman, Fellow of Eton. His eldest son, Stephen, was Provost of Eton; his daughter Ann married Charles Hawtrey, elected to King's in 1706; his daughter Catherine married Dr. Cooke, Provost of King's; a third married George Harris, Fellow of Eton; while his second son, John, was elected to King's in 1729; and his fourth son, Henry, Scholar of King's in 1741, was Assistant and Lower Master, had a College living, and married Dr. Cooke's sister.

CHAPTER XI.

DR. BARNARD, HEAD MASTER—PRIVATE THEATRICALS—NICHOLAS HARDINGE—CHARLES FOX AND HIS FRIENDS AND CONTEMPORARIES—GEORGE III.'S FIRST VISIT.

THE school entered upon one of its most flourishing periods with the election of Dr. Edward Barnard, Fellow of St. John's College Cambridge, to the Headmastership in 1754. He was in 1752 private tutor at Eton to Charles and Henry Townshend. The increasing popularity of the school is shown by the appointment of two additional Assistant Masters in 1755, and the further addition of two more in 1760. Horace Walpole writes of Barnard that he is "the Pitt of masters, and has raised the school to the most flourishing state it ever knew"; while his epitaph in the College Chapel, with a modesty unusual in epitaphs, says that he increased and established the discipline and fame of Eton School for eleven years. George Hardinge, the Welsh judge, son of Nicholas Hardinge, Clerk to the House of Commons, and, like his father, an enthusiastic Etonian, speaks of Barnard in high terms. His Cambridge reputation was not as a deep scholar in Philosophy, in Divinity, or even in Classics, but he was "admired for eloquence, for wit, for spirit, and for that kind of genius whose acute perceptions, taste, and sense catch half intuitively the essence of learning, without labour in the pursuit. . . . He was like Shakespeare's Yorick, a little more disciplined and guarded by a controuling spirit, which kept all resentment as well as reply at bay. He

discovered with sagacity in those around him themes of ridicule which he never spared; but admired without envy talents or virtues. Besides other faculties, in his eloquence he had the charm of a musical voice, and in reading or speaking a most exquisite ear. His manner of reading the service at the Communion table was absolute perfection. It was commanding, musical, intelligent, and pleasing. His pulpit manner was too hasty and vehement, but many admired it, and would have gone leagues to hear him."

He seems to have been a scholar of the elegant school, who read the classics for their literary value, not as a foundation for the doctrine of the enclitic δὲ, or for properly basing οὖν. He used to read Greek plays with his Sixth form, with the particular object of exciting in them the love of beauty and poetry for their own sakes. "He corrected, with grace and with good humour, everything vicious in the mode of reading or construing. When he read our compositions he made them his own by the charm of his accent, and the just emphasis that he laid. When he gave out a subject for prose or verse, to hear him was a feast. With his unbounded versatility of playful humour, he was feared as much as he was loved. He had some rebellions to encounter; but was a perfect statesman in his address, never departing an atom from the dignity of his courage. Indeed, spirit and command were powerful traits of his character, and they never deserted him. If nature had given him Garrick's features and figure he would have been scarce inferior to him in theatrical powers. He was an admirable mimic, but he was never like that wonderful man, *an actor off the stage.* He had sparkling eyes and fine teeth, but his features were coarse, his face rather bloated, and his complexion too sanguine. His figure, though compact and strong, had the defect of short and, as they are called, club feet, which gave a kind of swing to his gait, the result of this partial deformity; but converted by him into a gesture and

movement of dignity not ungraceful." He was always a perfect gentleman, says Hardinge, and this agrees well with what Dr. Johnson said of him: "He was the only man that did justice to my good breeding, and you may observe that I am well bred to a needless degree of scrupulosity."

Barnard had, what writers on education are rather apt to assume was unknown before the days of Dr. Arnold, an insight into boys' character, and a talent for government not rooted in the spirit of despotism. To quote Hardinge again: "He had peculiar discernment into the character of boys, and loved spirit, though in opposition to himself. He admired Charles Fox, who made no eminent figure in learning or literary taste; was often in scrapes, and was rather a mutineer than a courtier; but marked his energy of genius and spirit with prophetic hints of the Senator and Statesman he afterwards became. I recollect one striking instance of his acuteness and spirit. When the late Sir James Macdonald arrived at Eton he had no connexions to recommend him, and he could not make a verse, that is, he wanted a point indispensable with us to a certain rank in our system. But this wonderful boy, having satisfied the Master that he was an admirable scholar, and possessed of genius, was at once placed at the head of a remove, or form; and Barnard said, 'Boys, I am going to put over your heads a boy who cannot write a verse; and I do not care whether he will ever be a poet or no, but I will trust him in *your* hands, for I know my boys, and how generous they are to merit.'"

Barnard's discrimination as to Sir James Macdonald was justified, for he learnt to write verse, and five or six of his compositions may be seen in the *Musae Etonenses*. The "young Marcellus" of his day he has been styled, for he died early, before his extraordinary powers had had time to produce much fruit.

Though Barnard was thus gifted by nature with theatrical powers, and used when Provost to entertain Foote and other

actors, and give theatrical performances at the Lodge, he does not appear to have looked altogether with favour on the histrionic ambitions of his pupils. Hardinge relates an amusing story of his youthful impersonation of the part of Cato, in Addison's play, and the Head Master's interruption: "We took up, in the boarding-house, a rage for acting plays; and amongst them was that of Cato, *whom I was to personate!* But I despaired of a *likeness* till I could obtain a suitable wig, having, I suppose, formed the idea from Pope:—

"'*Cato's long wig*, flower'd gown, and lacker'd chair.'"

With some difficulty a cast-off and *scare-crow* volume of hair, which had once been venerable, was engaged under prime cost; but was to be made practicable by the hair-dresser, who was to see his wig upon my head for his pains. Many were invited under the rose, and some ladies. The parts were studied, and the effect was thundering applause; whether to laugh at us or admire us I leave unexplained. In the midst of my harangue to the mutineers, who were all the rabble we could find, Barnard, with dignity *emulating* mine, advanced upon the scene. All the world fled—I alone remained firm to my part—he tore my wig and gown without mercy from the patriot whom they had *become so well*, and hung them up as trophies in his room. Telling this adventure to his visitors, he received amongst them Burton, the Vice-Provost, who knew his wig, and claimed it from the wig-maker, "who had made it," he said, "as good as new."

After Barnard became Provost he at least on one occasion had a play at the Lodge in which boys took part. Henry Angelo, the fencing master, the son of the founder of the famous School of Arms, who was at Eton from 1766 to 1774, says in his *Reminiscences* that on this occasion William Hutchinson, afterwards Lord Donoughmore, and K.C.B., performed the part of Horatia in *The Roman Father*, and the

Widow Brady in *The Irish Widow*, the after-piece; and that everyone was delighted with his acting and his Irish dialect in the farce.

Another story of Barnard, to illustrate his facetiousness and Dr. Battie's ready humour, is told by Hardinge:—"Serjeant Prime, one of the most inflexibly serious Pleaders in his day, was attended by Barnard, who was doing the honours to him. Amongst other places which they visited was a room for some of the Collegers, called *the Lower Chamber*—in this room they found Battie, who had been rambling with some of the boys over the favourite scenes of his youth. He knew *Barnard* with intimacy, and admired, with passion, all his jesting powers. A conflict ensued, which Barnard, then my host, made alive to me, though at second hand. He fell upon *Battie* as a *delinquent Colleger*. The other fell upon *him* in return as a *partial Master*, who as all the boys would have told him, if they dared, *spited him!* The Serjeant, all astonishment with smiling civility, after the scene had closed, asked Barnard what it *meant*; 'for the gentleman,' said he, 'appears of an *age* to have escaped from *your* dominion over him, and he had no *College habit* upon him.' *Barnard* (with difficulty keeping his countenance) told him it was a kind of practice between them, *to keep their hand in*. 'Oh! it was facetious then, was it!' said the Serjeant; 'Oh! yes, I see it was, and upon my word, sir, it was excellent of its kind.'"

Charles Fox must have been a somewhat trying pupil, more by his father's fault than his own. In addition to the indiscretions of his early upbringing he was taken off by his father in the middle of his Eton career, and introduced to the gaming tables and dissipations of Spa. "He had left school a boy," says one of his biographers, "he returned to it with all the follies and fopperies of a young man"; but he was laughed at by the boys and flogged by the Head Master.

Barnard's sumptuary laws are alluded to by another of his old pupils, Christopher Anstey, in the *New Bath Guide*, where Mrs. Danglecub grumbles at the Head Master's remissness in not having the boys taught dancing and deportment, especially

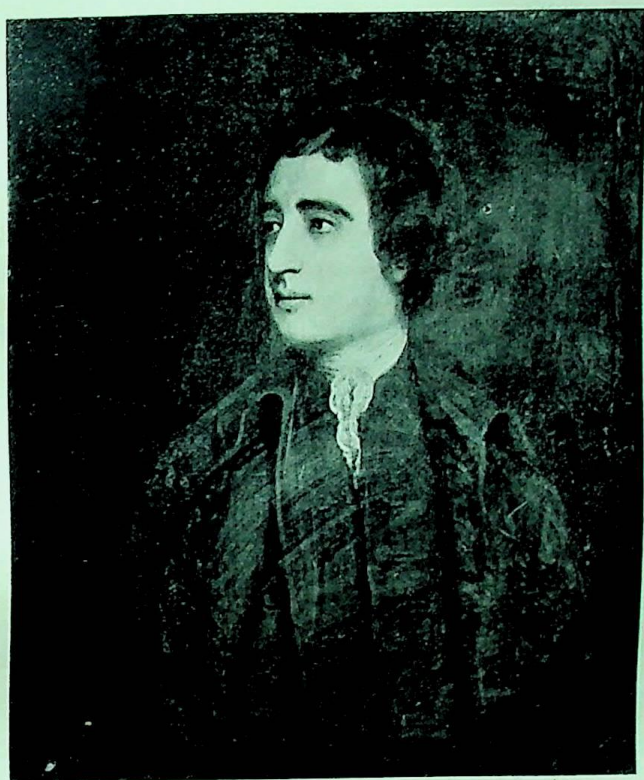
> "When they 've got such a charming long room for a ball,
> Where the scholars might practise, and masters and all;
> But what is much worse, what no parent would chuse,
> He burnt all their ruffles, and cut off their queues."

Whether Mrs. Danglecub's admonition bore fruit or not we do not know, but certainly about 1768 there was a dancing-master, by name Hickford, attached to the school, not to speak of the elder Angelo the fencing-master, by whose family instruction in this accomplishment was given at Eton till within recent years.

Fox's schoolfellows, like his Master, seem to have seen an early promise of his political career. Lord Carlisle, in some verses written on his then Etonian friends, about 1762, says of him:—

> "How will, my Fox, alone thy strength of parts
> Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
> Of fearful statesmen, while around thee stand
> Both Peers and Commons listening thy command;
> While Tully's weight its sense to thee affords,
> His nervous sweetness shall adorn thy words;
> What praise to Pitt, to Townshend e'er was due,
> In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you."

There is a portrait of Fox as a boy, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, among the collection in the Provost's Lodge, which is reproduced on the opposite page.

James Hare, the friend of Fox and Lord Carlisle, also suffered from Barnard's sumptuary laws. We are told that the honours of friendship with "all the noblemen who admired quick parts, easy manners, and ready wit gave him an air of consequence superior to the pretensions of a Colleger, and attracted the envy of the Master, who was resolved to cut

CHARLES JAMES FOX

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, P.R.A., IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

him short in his career, and for that purpose docked his long hair with his own hand; telling him, on his showing signs of indignation, that he might think himself well off that the operation was not performed according to the statutes by a bowl dish."

But in spite of regulations in the somewhat superficial matter of dress, discipline, to judge from contemporary gossip, was in many ways lax. A scandal-monger of the day says that Lord Hinchinbroke, son of the notorious Lord Sandwich, had already when at school begun to follow the paths of his father, for he was flogged by Barnard for becoming liable to a bastardy summons at the suit of a young woman in Windsor.

Another pupil of Barnard's, of some notoriety in the political world of his time, was William Windham. He was Secretary for War, and afterwards for the Colonies, under Fox and Lord Grenville, the former his contemporary, the latter a few years his junior at Eton. A man of learning and wit, with great charm of manner, personal beauty, and a boyish flow of spirits, even till advanced age, his political career was marred by an extraordinary love of paradox, which led him to oppose everything against which the tide of public opinion was setting. He was a friend of Dr. Johnson, who said that in the regions of literature he was *inter stellas luna minores*, and of many other men of letters and artists.

William Windham, whose father died in 1761, had as guardians Dr. Dampier, at this time Lower Master, and David Garrick. There are some letters in existence from Dr. Dampier to the boy's mother, detailing his progress at school, easing her mind on the subject of a prevailing fever much exaggerated, and so forth. In the spring of 1766 he writes to her: "There have been great disturbances amongst the boys here, and I am sorry that your son is accused of having a large concern in them. In order, therefore, to cover his retreat, and to prevent a publick expulsion, which would

probably be the consequence of his longer stay, I shall send him home to you to-morrow morning. When I am in town about a fortnight hence we must meet and consider how to dispose of him." The disposition of him resolved on was to send him to Oxford, where he seems to have conducted himself with propriety, for his guardian hears the best reports of him, and says, "He is indeed a very extraordinary young gentleman; and, if it please God he enjoys his health, he cannot fail of making a very considerable figure in the world."

Angelo says that Dr. Dampier had the reputation of being of a somewhat indulgent nature to his pupils, and proceeds to tell a story of "a smart youth, fonder of cricket than construing," who was fearful of "losing his remove" into the Upper School through his bad verses. "The doctor was passing by and within hearing when the scholar, not at all abashed, said, 'Oh, never mind, Dampier loves a good glass of wine; I'll write to my father to send him a hamper of claret, and mark if I do not soon swim into the Upper School!' The doctor retired convulsed with laughter, and took no further notice of this effrontery." A last century newspaper, *The World*, one of whose two editors was Major Topham, an old Etonian, says that Frank North, one of the younger members of the Guildford family, had a little disagreement with Dampier, who was his tutor, on the Hundred Steps at Windsor, which was "adjusted by Frank North rolling his tutor very quickly down the whole of them!" The story, it must be owned, does not sound very credible.

Dr. Dampier was made Fellow of Eton in 1767, and after various ecclesiastical preferments died Dean of Durham, in 1777. Two sons of his, both educated at Eton and King's, attained high positions, one, Thomas Dampier, becoming Bishop of Ely; the other, Henry Dampier, a judge of the King's Bench.

George III., the lifelong friend of Eton, paid his first visit

to the school in 1762, soon after his marriage. It is described in a letter preserved among the Stowe MSS. in the British Museum, written by F. Godolphin to Charles Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle :—

"BAYLIES, Sept. 27th, 1762.

"MY DEAR LD.,—

I was glad to find by the favour of yours from Chesterfield that you were got so near Hagley in good Weather which I think was very lucky. I should not have troubled you again so soon but as you are a Lover of Eton I know it will be a treat to you to hear what Honours they received on Saturday. They went through Eton on Tuesday in their way to Windsor when the Provost &c. and the Boys attended in the Churchyard but his Majesty not being apprized of it in time they went thro' pretty fast which the King expressed some Concern for. They came thither on Saturday between eleven and 12 and staid till 2. The Provost and Coll: received them at the Great Gate and conducted them into the School where there were 2 Elbow chairs placed for the King and Queen when Foote the Capt. of the Oppidans, Son of your Friend, made a very Elegant Speech to them in English of about 5 minutes which Borrough the Capt. of the Collegers (whose Father you also know) should have done but he has a very bad Elocution. From thence they went into the long Chamber which has been lately cleaned and Whitewashed and looked very well, and from thence thro' the School into the chappel and as soon as they were entered the Organ played Accompanied by a Band of Musick which Dr. Barnard had prepared. The Boys and Assistants were placed in the Chappel ready to receive them when they came out of the long Chamber which had a very good effect, they walked up to the Altar from whence the King admired the Architecture of the Chappel of which he is so good a Judge. From thence they went to the College Hall which has been lately Whitewashed and Painted and to the Library and saw the Drawings in a Room with a fire, and from thence to the Prov^s Room when they admired the Prospect of the Fields. His Majesty conversed with the Prov: at least an Hour during his Stay and was pleased to say that he never passed so agreeable a Day in his Life, and the Queen seemed also much pleased. The Noblemen were introduced to him and he asked them what Books they learnt and many other proper Questions.

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The King gave an 100*l.* for the Boys as the Prov: and Dr. Barnard should direct, and I think 30 Guineas beside of which he desired that the Organist might have ten and the rest to the Servants &c. Their coming was desired to be kept Secret by which means they had no Mob and almost everybody was kept out of y[e] College. The D. of Devon and L[d] Talbot attended with their White Staves and L[d] Hertford was in waiting which happened very *àpropos.* The King ordered 6 Holidays and the Prov. desired L[d] Canteleupe to ask the Queen if she would please to have 3 upon which she went up to him and asked for 3 in English and Coloured very much. The King was Gracious beyond expression and asked the Prov: what would be proper for him to give, he said they desired nothing being quite satisfied with the Honour of seeing his Majesty he said he would give something and would give any sum that the Provost would name."

It was in memory of this visit that the King presented the four silver tankards, that were used for Grace cup in Hall until the unfortunate abolition fourteen years ago of that custom.

At Election in this year the numbers of the school had reached 510, and two years later, the year before Barnard became Provost, they were 517. Even at that time the hardships of life in College seem to have deterred boys from becoming Scholars. In an absence roll of about 1762, which shows a total of 482 boys, there were only fifty-six Collegers, fourteen below the full number. They seem, too, to have been looked down upon, if we may trust the mother of George Monck Berkeley, grandson of the Bishop of Cloyne, who says that when her son became a Colleger Provost Barnard, who had been civil to him as an Oppidan, ceased to befriend him.

CHAPTER XII.

DR. FOSTER'S HEADMASTERSHIP—THE GREAT REBELLION —WORK AND PLAY, *circa* 1760—FAMOUS ETONIANS OF THE DAY.

BARNARD was elected Provost in October, 1765, in the room of Dr. Sleech, and his place was taken by Dr. John Foster, one of the Assistant Masters. Dr. Foster was a man of high character, a strict disciplinarian, and a good scholar of a somewhat exact and pedantic type, but without that general literary culture for which Barnard had been remarkable.

He was not a successful Head Master. As the son of a Windsor tradesman, and of inferior physique, his boys were doubtless inclined to look down upon him; but besides that he was wanting in the tact and power of government which are essential in his position.

Henry Angelo gives a story of his demeanour in general society, which, if true, shows that he was not a person likely to get on well with his boys. He was invited to dinner by a nobleman whose son was among his pupils, and "during the dinner so many good things were laid before him that he was too much engaged to talk; and after he had eaten too much he remained silent, to their disappointment, not neglecting, however, to take his wine. He would longer have avoided entering into conversation, when, all of a sudden, he exclaimed, 'Good God! well, this is curious, indeed'; and holding up a silver cup that was on the table (such as the

chymists use, made of pewter, with measures the same at both ends), to the astonishment of the whole table, who expected to hear something *great*, 'this puts me in mind of the Αμφικύπελλον which Homer describes,' smiling graciously at his own discovery."

The first of these deficiencies of the new Head Master was seen in disturbances and rebellions; one of them has been already alluded to, in which William Windham was concerned, but a very much more serious rebellion took place in 1768. It took its origin in a dispute between the Sixth form præpostors and the Assistant Masters. The Sixth form præpostors were the first seven Collegers and the first ten Oppidans; at the present day the Sixth form consists of the first ten Collegers and first ten Oppidans, but a historic survival of the smaller number of Colleger præpostors was to be seen till very recently in the fact that at the Speeches delivered in the Michaelmas and Easter schooltimes, the first seven Collegers only in the Sixth form used to "speak."

These Sixth form præpostors exercised monitorial authority over the rest of the school, and had the power of sending back to College any boys whom they found out of bounds. In consequence they claimed to be free from any bounds themselves, though, as a matter of courtesy, they used to "shirk" the Assistant Masters. In 1768, however, the Masters claimed the right to send back to College any Sixth form boy whom they found out of bounds. Dr. Foster tried to find a *modus vivendi*, but in vain, and matters came to a head with a meeting between a Master and a præpostor named Webster, in Eton street, one afternoon. That the matter was one which only affected the personal dignity of the Masters seems pretty clear from what followed. That same evening Webster was performing his usual duty of keeping Lower boys quiet in Chapel, when the Master sent a message to him that he was going to complain of him

to the Head Master for making a noise. The boy, suspecting that this unfounded charge was merely in revenge, proceeded, after Chapel was over, to ask the meaning of the message, but was immediately seized by the Master and hauled off to Dr. Foster to be flogged.

At this juncture the præpostors entered the room in a body and threatened to resign if the flogging was carried out. The Head Master accepted their resignation and flogged their comrade. The next day the ex-præpostors had an interview with Dr. Foster, at which they claimed that the Assistants should not send them back to College if found out of bounds, unless they were in public-houses, billiard rooms, or places of that character. Their claim was rejected; thereupon they declared that they would take no part in Declamations, for that was their duty as præpostors, and not a part of the regular school work. Dr. Foster retorted that if they did not declaim at the proper time they would leave the school. This seems to have been the last straw. There was a great meeting in the Playing Fields, and like the plebeians at Rome, the præpostors and their sympathizers determined to secede to Maidenhead.

The seceders comprised the Sixth form, many of the Fifth, and some of the Fourth, a hundred and sixty in all. A pamphlet of the day, which gives an account and a defence of the boys, and was printed in reply to a written statement put forth by the Masters, says that "they marched with the greatest order and regularity, and . . . during the whole time they were absent from Eton there was not one single act of riot, indecency, or intemperance committed." Before starting they are said, traditionally, to have thrown away their school-books over Windsor Bridge, all but Thomas Grenville, the collector of the famous library, who, characteristically, would not part with his Homer. The bill for their entertainment at the Maidenhead inn has been preserved,

and, though it has been printed before, is interesting enough to be worth printing again :—

Beer for dinner . . .	1 .. 2 .. 6
Wine and punch, etc. . .	6 .. 18 .. 6
Dinners, coffee, tea, etc., supper and breakfast for 160, at 5s. a head .	40 .. 0 .. 0
Beer at supper . . .	0 .. 18 .. 6
Wine and punch . . .	5 .. 14 .. 9
Fires	1 .. 0 .. 0
Cards	0 .. 4 .. 0
	55 .. 18 .. 3

November the 2nd and 3rd, 1768.

Angelo says that the Marquis of Buckingham was Captain of the school, and that his Tutor and Boarding-master, Dr. Roberts, afterwards Provost, locked him into his room to prevent his accompanying the seceders. The author of the pamphlet mentioned alludes to the same incident without giving names, and says that in consequence windows in Dr. Roberts' house were broken by the rebels. One Master rode over to Maidenhead to try and persuade them to return at once, but without success. Next morning, however, either they could not agree on a plan of campaign, or wiser counsels prevailed, and they marched back to Eton, where a deputation had a parley with the Masters, and offered to surrender on condition that all were treated alike. Dr. Foster, however, would make no terms, and his tactics seem to have been justified, for thereupon three of the leaders "to their eternal infamy made peace at the expense of their own honour," while of the rank and file some submitted, others fled to their homes, where, if one may judge of all from the accounts that have been preserved of the reception of some, they met with small sympathy. William Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville, the Prime Minister, and younger brother of Thomas Grenville mentioned just now, was sent back to Eton to be flogged, and then taken away from the

WILLIAM WYNDHAM, LORD GRENVILLE

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY GEORGE ROMNEY IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

school. Lord Harrington's son, with some other ringleaders, swore he would be damned if ever he returned to school again. However, when he went up to London, and sent up his name to his father, Lord Harrington would only speak to him at the door, ordering him to return immediately to Eton, whereupon the following dialogue took place:—

"Sir, consider I shall be damned if I do."

"And I will be damned if you don't."

"Yes, my lord, but you will be damned whether I do or not."

Which prevailed history does not record; though the father might well think the son a chip of the old block, he might conceive that an additional reason for consigning him to it. The old Marquis of Granby was more cunning, and received his two sons, Lord Roos* and Robert Manners, with affected surprise, though he had already heard of their running away:—

"Well, boys, what brought you here?"

"We have left Eton."

"So I perceive."

"Oh, we have all been used so ill. Dr. Foster has driven the scholars away—and we have done as the rest—and so have come home."

"Very well, very well, and you would like to go to the play this evening—hey, boys?"

"Oh, yes, you are very good, sir."

"Yes, you shall go there to-night for your own pleasure, and to-morrow shall return to Dr. Foster and be flogged for mine."

And the old disciplinarian kept his word.

Henry Angelo tells a curious story of one of Dr. Foster's floggings: "One Sunday evening after church, when we little

* Lord Roos' name is cut in an oak panel, probably from some pulled down boarding-house, now in the possession of Mr. Goodhart, one of the Assistant Masters.

boys were fagging for the great boys at Eton, preparing their tea, etc., Mr. Davis, our house assistant, as well as all the others, were sent to the different dames; ours at Dame Manby's were all ordered to go to the Upper School."

On their arrival there they found Dr. Foster and the other Masters in the middle of the room in deep conversation. After some time of silent and anxious suspense the block was called for, and placed in the middle of the school, and after some more waiting, "the Doctor vociferated aloud 'Burke!' when a stout, tall Irish boy, about eighteen, made his appearance, and suffered the ignominy of a public flogging. When the regulation three cuts had been administered, the Head Master said, 'Now I expel you my school,' and immediately retired with his Assistants, without explaining any further. Had the boy known that he was going to be expelled he would never have suffered himself to be flogged. It appeared afterwards that he had lampooned the Doctor in the newspapers, and had spoken of the ignominious treatment he had received from the boys; of their shying stones, eggs, etc., etc., at him—all falsehoods of his own invention, which he had sent to London to be inserted."

The following excerpt from a letter of an Eton boy about this time is interesting for its incidental allusions. It is from William Grimston to his friend Sir Michael le Fleming, who had left the school and was abroad, and is dated July 4, 1767:

"You should have heard from me directly upon the receipt of yours but thought it better to stay a little to scrape together all the news I could in England and to acquaint you of our Montem which is just over. Mr. Brume* was captain and cleared £147 only which was the poorest Montem that ever was in this century. Hulse and Topping were salt-bearers. I saw your cousin Stanley at Salt Hill who desires his compliments to you. He is at Cambridge, and I believe spends his time very agreeably amongst his friends where

* *i.e.*, Henry Brougham, father of Lord Brougham.

I hope soon to go. Hayter minor has got himself expelled from Eton since I wrote to you last, by behaving himself very impertinently to Dr. Foster. He was third boy in the school at the time. . . . Mrs. Sturgess* is very good natured to the boys, and behaves herself very freely amongst us; now and then gives a bottle of wine or a bowl of punch which she makes very good. I always wish your company to partake, in short we are very happy. I take no other amusement here but tennis, never enter the billiard rooms. Hulse is our best player. Mrs. Sturgess desires her love to you and compliments from all your friends, but there are now but Ford and Gough and they both go at Election."

The favourite billiard table was kept by a man called Lawrington, in Windsor, and Angelo, who in after life drew a caricature of him that was engraved and published, relates how many a time he had to leave at five minutes to eight in the middle of a game, to be in time for lock-up absence at his dame's to avoid a flogging the next morning. Besides billiards and tennis there was boating; the names of three long-boats of this date, *Piper's Green*, *My Guinea's Lion*, and *Snake*, have been preserved; the names of the two first having obvious reference to a well-known waterman of the day called Guinea Piper. In a MS. *Nugae Etonenses, circa* 1765 or 1766, we get the following curious list of games then played:— "Cricket, Fives, Shirking Walls, Scrambling Walls, Bally Cally, Battledores, Peg-top, Peg in the ring, Goals, Hopscotch, Heading, Conquering Lobs, Hoops, Marbles, Trap-ball, Steal baggage, Puss in the corner, Cut Gallows, Kites, Cloyster and Flyer Gigs, Tops, Humming-tops, Hunt the hare, Hunt the dark lanthorn, Chuck, Sinks, Starecaps, Hurtlecap."

Whether "Shirking Walls" or "Scrambling Walls" represents the game of football as played at the wall is doubtful, though such identification is tempting. In fact, from the juxtaposition of these two games with Fives and the fact that, in a letter of Dr. Goodall to his old pupil, Lord Metcalfe, he alludes to "the Shirking Walls" as a well-known Eton

* The dame at whose house the writer of the letter boarded.

haunt littered with grammars, it looks as if some variety of Fives played on the original Fives Wall was intended; or perhaps the "Shirking Walls" are the wall now known as the Long Wall outside Upper School, so called from its convenience for "shirking" a master. "Goals" is no doubt football; "Heading," Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte suggests, means taking "headers." "Hunt the dark lanthorn" survived as an amusement of Lower-boy Collegers till the second decade of this century, and consisted of hide-and-seek with a dark lantern at night in the Playing Fields, and was played during the half-hour from 8 p.m. to 8.30, before Collegers were locked up for the night. Perhaps the game of throwing and catching fireballs of tow dipped in spirits of wine, which was played at the same period, was that referred to here as "chuck." Fights with the plebeians seems to have formed another amusement with the Etonians of the day. Angelo gives the following account of what seems to have been a very serious battle soon after he went to Eton:—"Among the greatest sufferers in the Eton riot, when the boys opposed the butchers in Windsor, I, though then not eight years old, remember Lord B[eaulieu]'s son, nicknamed by the school Devil Montague, was very near losing his life, having received a violent contusion on his head, which caused a fracture. Many Etonians succeeded in returning back to College over Windsor Bridge only by being disguised in women's clothes, the butchers having secured the passage to prevent their retreat. The late Norfolk Wyndham, M.P., at one time had been surrounded by three of the cleaver tribe, and was *clever* enough to knock down two and escape to his schoolfellows. The boys had secured the bargemen on their side, and Cannon, I should think the grandfather of the present pugilist of that name (who was beat by Spring), was one, a very stout man; also the noted Naylor, a contemporary *gemman* of the fist with Broughton."

On September 12th, 1768, Christian VII., King of Denmark,

then a young man of twenty, visited Eton, and the whole school and the Masters were assembled in Upper School to receive him ; he was accompanied by the Duke of Gloucester.

The general school business, and the books and lessons in use in or about 1767, are very fully described in a contemporary document drawn up for Thomas James, an Etonian Head Master of Rugby. The amount of time spent in school seems extremely small, but of course it must be remembered that, as at the present day, lessons were prepared out of school, and the boys' tutors gave them the extra instruction known as "private business." The system of the eighteenth century substantially continued in force till the time of the Public Schools Commission. In a regular week Tuesday was a whole holiday, Thursday a half-holiday, and Saturday a "play-at-four." Nowadays, on a whole holiday, there is early school, but at this date absence at nine in the school-yard was the first thing that had to be attended. There was Chapel at eleven, and, as on every half-holiday, again at three. The ordinary school hours were from eight to nine and eleven to twelve on every day but Tuesday, and in addition from three to four and from five to six on whole school days.

Besides that, the Sixth form and Upper Fifth had a special hour for Greek plays on Mondays and Saturdays, from nine to ten ; and from ten to eleven and from two to three on holidays, and from two to three on half-holidays, instruction was given to the whole school by the three writing-masters in their art, and in geography and elementary mathematics. On Fridays the first afternoon lesson lasted from two to half-past three, and on every day but Tuesday and Saturday the boys in the Fourth form had to attend school of three-quarters of an hour duration before breakfast. On half-holidays prayers were read by the Fifth form præpostor at the end of the eleven o'clock school hour ; then there was absence at two and Chapel at three. In summer there

was absence at six when there was no five o'clock school, and in winter lock-up; and the Assistant Masters used to go round to all the boarding-houses and call absence for each house.

Thursday was a half-holiday in virtue of some Sixth form boy being "sent up for play," *i.e.*, of his being sent with an unusually good exercise, as a rule a copy of Latin verses, to the Provost, who, in return, requested that there might be a half-holiday for the school instead of the normal play-at-four. Being "sent up for play" still survives at Eton as an exceptional reward for a good exercise, *i.e.*, the exercise is taken by the author to the Provost, instead of merely to the Head Master, as when it is "sent up for good," but it no longer earns a half-holiday. It is from these exercises thus preserved that the three series of *Musae Etonenses* have been compiled; many of the originals are in the College Library. On all "play-at-fours" except Saturday prayers were read in school at four; on Saturday the afternoon lesson was at two, and there was Chapel at three. But a regular week did not occur very often, for besides holidays for royal birthdays, Founder's Day, and so forth, every Saint's day, as now, was a holiday, and in addition the eve a half-holiday. A good deal of verse composition had to be done, while Homer, Lucian, Virgil, and Horace, with Cæsar, Terence, and Cornelius Nepos in the lower parts of the school, were the chief authors read. Besides them the traditional *Scriptores Romani*, and *Poetae Graeci*, which had not then long been published, were used; and probably the *Scriptores Graeci*, which was first published in 1767, came into use just after this document was drawn up. There was a great deal of learning by heart, as there continued to be till within the last thirty years. The Head Master had an unwieldy Division, consisting of all the Sixth and Fifth forms, and it was doubtless extremely necessary that the two Sixth form præpostors should in alternate

hours walk round the Upper School and preserve order. Besides these duties one Sixth form præpostor had to attend at floggings and hand the birch to the Head Master, and call over the names at absence. In return for the performance of these duties the Sixth form præpostors were excused the business of the school during their term of office, and it is curious to observe that to-day, though the duties are much curtailed, the exemption survives. They no longer perform police duty, they no longer call over the names at absence; on the rare occasions when there is a flogging one is still present, and their chief duty is to summon boys to attend the Head Master after school for various offences. The messenger's procedure is strictly regulated by custom; he opens the door of some Master's schoolroom and asks, "Is Smith in this Division?" If he is there are two formulas then in use: if Smith is "in the bill," that is to say, has been complained of to the Head Master, the formula is, "Then he's to stay"; if he is required for some other purpose—"The Head Master wishes to see him after school."

Every other form had its præpostor, as the Divisions have now, to mark down absentees from school and absence, and fetch a written excuse from their dames, if sickness or other lawful cause prevented them.

The last relic of the calling over of names at absence by the Sixth form præpostor was, that the Colleger præpostor always called the names of the Collegers until the summer of 1885, when Dr. Warre, saying that the præpostors would call too fast for him to ascertain who was absent, took the matter into his own hands. The College præpostor now only calls the names of the Collegers after prayers in College every evening and on Sunday mornings.

"Trials," that is to say, an examination in the books read and in composition, were inflicted on all boys before they got their "remove" to a higher form. If a boy did well he was

presented by his dame with a shilling or a half-crown, according to his position in the school, and his father's account debited therewith; the same pecuniary reward followed on being "sent up for good," and in the lower part of the school on a successful challenge for his place to a senior boy. "Trials" were not then, it appears, a competitive examination, only a qualifying one. The dinner hour was twelve, and the Collegers had supper at six on whole school days and five on other days. From seven to eight they had to read in Hall, under the care of the Captain of the school, which seems to have been in consequence of an ordinance of Provost Rous. At eight they recited the old Latin prayers, as we have before described them, in Lower School, and this was followed by lock up. On Sundays the Collegers began the day with singing the *Jubilate*, and with prayers in Upper School, read by the Fifth form præpostor, and they and the Oppidans went to Chapel at ten and three. After dinner the whole school assembled in Upper School for an hour before afternoon Chapel, when a Fifth form boy read aloud some pages of the *Whole Duty of Man*. This was the proceeding known in after years as "Prose," to which we shall have occasion to allude again when we come to the reign of Keate. It is possible that it also took its origin in an ordinance of Rous, that notes of the morning sermon should be taken by those who could write, and rendered to the Master and Usher after dinner. There were Speeches and Declamations by the Sixth form three or four times a year. The Declamations were spoken on a Saturday, about a fortnight before every breaking up, after eleven o'clock school; and Speeches on a Saturday at four. The latter seem usually to have been taken from Latin or Greek authors.

There were three vacations in the year, at Christmas, Easter, and in August, as now. They always began on a Monday, not as now on a Friday. The Christmas holidays began on the second Monday in December, and lasted a

month; the Easter on the Monday in Holy Week, and lasted a fortnight; the summer, then known as the Bartlemy-tide holidays, as they were also at Westminster, on the first Monday in August.

There were at this period nine Assistant Masters, and besides them three writing-masters, two of whom were "Dominies," that is, kept boarding-houses. Besides what these taught, the polite accomplishments of French, drawing, dancing, and fencing might be acquired. The French master who is best known was Porny, author of a book on heraldry, which went through five editions between 1771 and 1795, and who devoted the savings of his life to the education of the boys and girls of the parish of Eton. Whether the teaching of French was more effective than in most of our public schools to-day does not appear, but earlier in the century Horace Walpole learnt French at Eton sufficiently well to appear in French society. Drawing was taught by Alexander Cosens, an illegitimate son of Peter the Great. His blottesque method (to borrow a phrase from Mr. Ruskin) of water-colour painting is amusingly described by Angelo, as well as the fight with bread pellets which used to take place between his rowdy pupils. One of them was the painter and connoisseur of great fame in his day, Sir George Beaumont, while Angelo himself learnt sufficient to do caricatures for the printsellers and a few topographical drawings in after years. The fencing school was kept by Angelo's father, an adept both with the sword and in the *manége*. To his house in London it was at one time customary to send young men of fortune to be taught the graces and accomplishments necessary for success in the fashionable world. Besides those of Foster's pupils who have been already mentioned, several who were afterwards famous should not be omitted; Samuel Whitbread, the well-known supporter of Fox and opponent of the slave trade, was one.

Lord Grey and the third Lord Holland entered the school

under Foster, and left it in his successor's time. There are portraits of all three as boys in the Provost's Lodge, those of Whitbread and Lord Grey being exceptionally beautiful examples of Romney's brush. Sir Vicary Gibbs, chief Baron of the Exchequer and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was also an Etonian of this date and a Kingsman.

The famous Greek scholar, Richard Porson, also owed his early instruction to Foster. Porson was a Colleger, and the chief part of his Eton life that he seems to have remembered with pleasure in after days was the rat hunts in Long Chamber. He is said to have been popular and good at games, and with a strong turn for satire, which once nearly brought him a thrashing from Charles Simeon, to whom he addressed an ode as "the ugliest boy in Dr. Davies' dominions." There is a musical masque written by Porson for performance in Long Chamber, and entitled *Out of the Frying-pan into the Fire*, which is preserved in the library of Trinity College Cambridge. Among those who took part in it was Goodall, afterwards Head Master and Provost, who, speaking of Porson's scholarship before Lord Brougham's Commission, affirmed it to have been inferior in all respects to that of the Marquis of Wellesley. His extraordinary memory was what really distinguished Porson; his biographer says: "Nothing came amiss to his memory. He would set a child right in his twopenny fable-book, repeat the whole moral tale of the *Dean of Badajoz*, a page of Athenæus on cups, or of Eustathius on Homer, even though he did everything to impair his mental faculties." The Eton story of his memory is, that one day, being called up to construe Horace, and having lost his book, he borrowed an Ovid from his neighbour, and with that construed the Horace without mistake.

Of the saintly Charles Simeon's Eton life a few fragmentary recollections have been preserved. Provost Goodall, his contemporary, writing to him in after years, reminds him

CHARLES, LORD GREY

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY GEORGE ROMNEY IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

of his boyhood, when he could jump over half a dozen chairs in succession, and snuff a candle with his feet. Simeon himself tells a story of the national fast-day, enjoined in 1776, during the American War. It was kept at Eton by abstinence from "meat and amusement till after the Second Service," *i.e.*, the Holy Communion; and Simeon, thinking that if the national misfortunes were due to anyone's sins they must be to his, spent the day in fasting and prayer, but not so as not to appear unto men to fast, and being ridiculed by his friends as a hypocrite, his good desires were, he says, soon dissipated. Simeon seems to have judged his own conduct as a schoolboy severely, and therefore it is to be hoped that he took too severe a view, when in later life he said that he would be tempted to take the life of a son rather than let him see the vice he had seen at Eton.

Lipscomb, the historian of Bucks, a contemporary of Dr. Foster, says of him that "he was a strict disciplinarian, severe against all immoral conduct, inexorable when he discovered meditated deception, and considered the deviation from truth to be an act of baseness which it would be equally wrong to pass without correction as to commit." The strictness of this discipline, though it failed in its object, made him very unpopular, and the school declined in numbers in a fashion almost incredible. In eight years it fell from 522 to 230, and in July, 1773, Dr. Foster resigned, owing to his bad health. He was made a Canon of Windsor, but did not live long to enjoy his preferment, for he died at Spa in September of that year. His remains, at first interred there, were afterwards removed to Windsor. A portrait of him in possession of the College is preserved in the Audit Room.

CHAPTER XIII.

DR. DAVIES—LORD WELLESLEY'S SCHOOL DAYS—ANECDOTE OF WELLINGTON—GEORGE CANNING AND "THE MICROCOSM"—GEORGE III. AND ETON—THE FOURTH OF JUNE.

ON Dr. Foster's resignation Dr. Jonathan Davies, a Kingsman and Assistant Master, was elected Head Master. He was a man of humble birth, who had owed his early advancement in life to the patronage of Dr. Barnard. His nickname among the boys of "Barber" Davies is possibly an allusion to his origin. For nearly twenty years he ruled the school, and not altogether without success. He seems, in society, to have been a great and somewhat boisterous conversationalist, and is said not always to have observed that temperance in eating and drinking that befits a Head Master. There is a story told of a very neat retort once made to him by the Prince Regent, at whose table he was dining. The Prince having expressed an opinion about Homer, Dr. Davies interrupted him with the very rude speech, "What do you know about Homer? I'd bet you don't know a line of the *Iliad*." "I'll take your bet," was the answer, and the Prince proceeded to quote:—

> "Οἰνοβαρὲς, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο."
>
> (Bk. I., 225.)

But in his sober senses Davies seems to have had a considerable reverence for the aristocracy.

An extraordinary story is told of the manner in which he imparted to the madcap Lord Barrymore, who was then in

the school, the news of his grandmother's death. While construing a passage in Virgil the Head Master interrupted him with the information that the lady was ill. "I am sorry to hear it, sir," he replied, and resumed his task. "Very ill indeed, my Lord"; which news the pupil acknowledged in suitable terms, and again proceeded with his lesson. "She is dying, my Lord." "Dying?" in astonishment queried the boy. "Come, come, she is dead, my Lord; you know the worst; go to your seat and make the best of an irretrievable misfortune." The grandmother was the old Countess of Harrington; and if she usually "tipped" her grandson with the lavishness which she displayed on his going to Eton at the age of fourteen, no doubt her death was an irretrievable misfortune. On that occasion she is said to have given him £1000 with which to make his entry. One Easter holidays this young man went to the Newmarket Spring Meeting, where he won a thousand guineas on a horse called Rockingham.

Election Monday in 1778 was remarkable both for the number of royal visitors and the brilliant performances of Lord Wellesley at the Speeches delivered before them. The King and Queen and several of their children, including the Prince of Wales, and Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburg, afterwards Duke of York, were present, and to meet them the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord North, and other illustrious persons. Lord Wellesley's known abilities procured him the honour of giving two recitations, the latter of which, Strafford's dying speech, was the first English speech delivered at Eton before royalty. It was spoken with such feeling as to draw tears from the audience, and the story is told that David Garrick, hearing of it, complimented the youthful speaker on having done what he had never achieved, viz., made the King weep. To which Lord Wellesley returned the graceful answer, "That is because you never spoke before him in the character of a fallen favourite."

Lord Wellesley had entered the school under Foster, and was one of Dr. Davies' private pupils and a great favourite with him. He excelled in Latin verses, and, as Angelo relates, his less studious comrades were always drawing upon his stock of talent in that exercise to meet their own bankruptcy. In fact, the world of Eton of that day did not differ much from that of a hundred years later. The present Head Master of Haileybury describes the process as it was understood in his day:—

"In a boarding-house on a Tuesday night—the verses having to be shown up on Wednesday—strange scenes were enacted. A lusty and unimaginative youth of some seventeen summers might be seen prowling round his friends' rooms with a bit of paper in his hand. On this are scribbled scraps of English, suggestions for the ideas of each single line or couplet, and as he has no conception how to do these himself he lays his friends under contribution to the extent of two, four, or six lines, tearing off the requisite bits of paper for each. When he has completed his visits to the different rooms, and the time necessary for the due amount of cajolery or menace has been spent, the first contributor will have finished his modest task, and the plagiarist collects the result bit by bit till all is achieved, and the next day a singularly tesselated copy of some twenty-four scratchy and solecistic Latin lines is formally handed into the Master, whose main work in life is to correct them into readable accuracy for another Master to receive and mark."

During Lord Wellesley's school days there was a debating society, encouraged by the Masters, which used to meet on holiday evenings. The members took the part of Speaker, Ministers, Opposition, and so on, and it is recorded that the future Lord Grey and Lord Wellesley were the most conspicuous, Lord Wellesley showing early his political abilities by retaining the post of Premier longer than anyone else.

Lord Wellesley's affection for his old school was such that

RICHARD, MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY GEORGE ROMNEY IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

when he retired from active life he spent a great deal of his time in its vicinity. In his seventy-ninth year he writes: "To Eton I owe and ascribe every gift of honour and happiness, and it is a matter of delight to me to witness the extension of the blessings which I have enjoyed to a new generation."

When he died, in 1842, he was by his special desire buried in the College Chapel, and the following lines, written by himself, and found after his death amongst his papers by the Duke of Wellington, inscribed on his tomb:—

> "Fortunae rerumque vagis exercitus undis,
>   In gremium redeo serus Etona tuum.
> Magna sequi, et summae mirari culmina famae,
>   Et purum antiquae lucis adire jubar
> Auspice te didici puer, atque in limine vitae,
>   Ingenuas verae laudis amare vias.
> Si qua meum vitae decursu gloria nomen
>   Auxerit, aut siquis nobilitavit honos,
> Muneris, Alma, tui est. Altrix da terra sepulchrum
>   Supremam lacrymam da memoremque mei."

One of the beautiful new windows in the Lower Chapel is erected in his memory. It was given in 1896 by Mr. Alfred Montgomery, who was Lord Wellesley's private secretary in his second Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. Mr. Alfred Montgomery also presented to the College some of his insignia of the Garter, which are now preserved in the College Library.

The Duke also, though he was a shy retiring boy—like Lord Roberts, another of our Eton soldiers, and left before he reached Fifth form, had a strong affection for the school.

Practically the only thing recorded of his school days is that he fought and thrashed "Bobus" Smith, brother of Sydney Smith, and one of the founders of *The Microcosm*. Fights used to take place in the Playing Fields, under the corner of the wall, and the Duke's oft-quoted remark about the battle of Waterloo has sometimes been explained as referring to that use of the Playing Fields.

Shortly after the conclusion of peace, in 1815, he came down in quite an informal way to see his sons, and an eye-witness thus describes him: "When I first saw him he had jumped upon, and was running along the Long Walk wall, followed by his two young sons and a bevy of young noblemen and gentlemen's sons, whose fathers he knew. He was dressed in top hat, coloured tie, brown cut-away coat, and top-boots, and went on or stood laughing, chattering to the boys, and the boys laughing and chattering back, until he jumped down in the midst of them—the veriest boy of them all."

The Duke sent his two sons to Mrs. Ragueneau's, the house where he himself had boarded, and another visit which he paid them in 1818 is thus amusingly described: "He went all over the house, and visited the room which he had occupied when at school. He looked into the garden, and asked what had become of the broad black ditch over which he used so often to leap. He said, 'I really believe I owe my spirit of enterprise to the tricks I used to play in the garden.' He remembered the name of 'Virgin's bower,' which used to be given to the room next the kitchen where the maids slept. He thought there was a way through it, and said he was going that way. He seemed in high spirits, and when the cook was calling all the servants to go out to see the Duke he stopped her as she was going into the kitchen by saying, 'The Duke is coming to see *you*.'" This appears to be the same visit that Angelo speaks of when the Duke pointed out his name cut with his own hand on the kitchen door. The piece of the door with this precious relic was afterwards cut out and affixed to the Duke's portrait in the Provost's Lodge, from which it was stolen several years ago by some miscreant. In the Boys' Library there is a similar fragment, with the name of Wellesley incised, but it is that of the Marquis. Ragueneau's house is now demolished, but it stood on the site of the so-called Manor House now occupied by Mr. Arthur James.

Dr. William Langford was at this period Lower Master; he was Chaplain to the King, who was fond of his preaching, so much so that he used to be sent for to preach at Weymouth, thereby causing much heart-burning to the less favoured non-Etonian divines of the neighbourhood. When he was in residence at Windsor the story is that he used to let complaints accumulate, and then have all the offenders marched up to the Castle in a body, there to suffer flogging. There is an engraved portrait of him in the *European Magazine*.

In 1781 Dr. William Hayward Roberts, who had been a Fellow for ten years, and before that an Assistant Master, was appointed Provost. It is difficult to understand what his claims to the appointment were, unless the soundness of his religious and political views, or the dulness of his literary productions, were sufficient. He had published, in 1771, a poetical essay on the *Existence of God*, and in 1774 an epic in two volumes duodecimo, entitled *Judah Restored*, and another volume of poems.

One of the few things recorded of him is his fruitless mediation between Dr. Davies and his Assistant Masters, in 1783. The Masters were offended at the treatment which they had received from Dr. Davies, and waited on the Provost in a body and tendered their resignation. What exactly the dispute was about does not seem to be recorded, but a contemporary diary speaks of "the shameful manner in which Dr. Davies behaved to the gentlemen Assistants." The Provost, though disclaiming any statutory right to interfere, offered to do what he could as a private individual, but his efforts were without success, and it was only on a partial rebellion breaking out in the school owing to the absence of Masters, that they became alarmed and came to terms with Dr. Davies. This rebellion was not a universal one, the Collegers and senior Oppidans would have nothing to do with it; but the rioters formulated a number of grievances

which they wished redressed, and when their request was refused drove Dr. Davies out of Upper School to take refuge at the Provost's Lodge, and then proceeded to break all the school windows and destroy the Head Master's furniture and papers. They then took the flogging block out of the room at the end of Upper School, then known as "Library," and now as "the Head's room," and split it into fragments with red-hot pokers. A considerable traffic seems to have been carried on in these fragments as trophies; the Marquis of Huntley, son of the Duke of Gordon, is recorded to have been one of the purchasers, and to have carried off his fragment to Gordon Castle. This appears to have been the first time that the flogging block was abstracted; it has been done several times since.

In consequence of these disturbances Dr. Davies and the Masters thought it prudent to send the boys home for the Christmas holidays at the beginning of December.

Perhaps Dr. Davies' most famous pupil was George Canning, He was sent to Eton in 1782, at the age of twelve, and placed in the Remove, and remained at the School till the age of seventeen. He was described by his contemporaries there as a boy of great quickness in learning, and of the same frank, generous, conciliatory disposition, and the same bold, manly, and unflinching spirit that marked him in later life. But perhaps the most remarkable product of his Eton life was *The Microcosm*, a literary periodical, edited by him and John Hookham Frere, who was afterwards associated with him in the famous and brilliant *Anti-Jacobin*. *The Microcosm* appeared during 1786 and 1787, with some irregularities, every week during the school-times; and, besides the editors, the chief contributors were John Smith, known at school as "Nil Smith," because he had no other nickname, afterwards Fellow of King's, and Robert (better known as Bobus) Smith, brother of Sydney Smith. This production, which consists for the most part of essays,

written in the style of the *Spectator* and the other "British Essayists," interspersed with occasional poetical effusions, obtained a great reputation outside the school. Fanny Burney relates in her Diary how she introduced it to the notice of the Queen, and the fame of Canning was so great that, incredible though it may appear, Fox, hearing of his abilities through his nephew, the young Lord Holland, came down to Eton to try and secure him as a recruit to the Whig party, but the boy's flattered vanity was not to be cajoled. The copyright was sold after the publication of the last number to Charles Knight, the Windsor bookseller who had brought it out, for fifty guineas. He issued several editions of it, the fifth and last in 1825. Among Canning's contributions was a poem in No. 5, on *The Slavery of Greece*, which shows that even then the Liberation of Greece, which occupied so much of his closing years, was touching his boyish heart. Canning was a devoted lover of Eton, and in the last number but one of *The Microcosm* says, that from Eton "to have sucked the milk of science, to have contracted for her a pious fondness and veneration, which will bind me for ever to her interests; and, perhaps (pardon, kind reader, the licensed vanity of a periodical writer abandoning himself on his death-bed to the fascination of egotism), to have improved, by my earnest endeavour, her younger part of the present generation, is to me a source of infinite pride and satisfaction." At three-and-twenty Canning entered Parliament, and that he was fitted for the duties of that position at that age we may well attribute, as he would himself have done, to his Eton and Oxford training. His opinion of that training was thus expressed in later life:—
"Foreigners often ask by what means an uninterrupted succession of men, qualified, more or less eminently, for the performance of Parliamentary and official duties, is secured. First, I answer (with the prejudices perhaps of Eton and Oxford) that we owe it to our system of public schools and

universities. From these institutions is derived (in the language of the prayer of our Collegiate Churches) 'a due supply of men fitted to serve their country in Church and State.' It is in her public schools and universities that the youth of England are, by a discipline which shallow judgments have sometimes attempted to undervalue, prepared for the duties of public life. There are rare and splendid exceptions to be sure; but in my conscience I believe that England would not be what she is without her system of public education; and that no other country can become what England is without the advantage of such a system." This opinion of Canning is curiously borne out by the opinion of a modern Frenchman, the author of *A quoi tient la Supériorité de l'Anglo-Saxon.*

At one of the Eton dinners in London, Canning, in the course of his speech, is reported to have said that "whatever might be the success in after life, whatever gratification of ambition might be realized, whatever triumph might be achieved, no one is ever again so great a man as when he was a Sixth form boy at Eton." No one so thoroughly entered into the spirit of these and the other Etonian reunions of Montem and the Fourth of June as Canning; in 1823, at Montem, he met Brougham for the first time since their fracas in the House, and held out his hand to him amidst the hearty applause of the crowd that surrounded them.

When his son was at the school he was continually coming down to Eton, and delighted to entertain him and his friends at Salt Hill or elsewhere; and no doubt felt himself amply repaid by the hero worship of which he was then the object among the majority of the school. No politician from that time till the old age of Mr. Gladstone has ever held such a place in Eton boys' hearts.

Pupils of Dr. Davies also were Lord Melbourne and John Keate, afterwards the famous Head Master, who were both

somewhat junior to Canning, and came also under the rule of Davies' successor, Dr. George Heath.

In 1791 Provost Roberts died, and as was becoming the custom, the Head Master was appointed in his place, and Dr. George Heath, one of the Assistant Masters, became Head Master. Dr. Heath was a Kingsman, and so was his brother, Dr. Benjamin Heath, then a Fellow of Eton, and previously Head Master of Harrow. Very little information is obtainable about this time, but it may be suspected that Heath's rule was somewhat deficient in vigour; his second year the numbers of the school reached 489, but declined in his last year, 1801, as low as 357, which makes it not improbable that there was some truth in the complaints in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1798 of the low tone of morality in the school. Even if "the systematic arrangement of a Fifth form Seraglio" is a little more than one can believe on hearsay evidence, it is plain that even the defenders, who rose up in arms at the assertion, thought that the reins of discipline were unduly relaxed.

Almost the only anecdotes of Heath's headmastership that are preserved are of acts of gross insubordination, in connection the one with a cricket match, the other with a boating expedition. The former was on the occasion of the first recorded public school cricket match, on July 25th, 1796. Eton *v.* Westminster was played on Hounslow Heath, and Eton was soundly beaten. Nearly all the Oppidans went to see the match, and those who did not agreed to "shirk absence," and that in the teeth of the Head Master's absolute prohibition of the match. The eleven thought they could not suffer much punishment, as they were most of them leaving the school the next week; but they were given on their return the choice between immediate expulsion and a flogging, and were glad to accept the latter alternative. "The wet bobs'" row was in the summer of 1798, and was on this wise. Many of the Fifth form and some Lower boys

determined to shirk six o'clock absence, and row up to Maidenhead. They seem to have made no secret of their intention, and to have carried it out in the face of Dr. Heath's persuasion and prohibition. A sound flogging was administered to each on their return, and one of the culprits, who thought fit to indulge in another escapade in the ensuing week, was thereupon expelled. Probably this wholesale flogging was the occasion on which it is related by family tradition that the Head Master flogged seventy boys, administering ten cuts with two birches to each, with the result, so far as he personally was concerned, that being not a young man he was laid up with aches and pains for more than a week.

Some mention ought to be made here of the interest taken in the school by George III. In its origin it probably enough sprang from a settled policy to encourage as far as he could the cause of education. In a letter of 1787 he says, "I wish from time to time to show a regard for the education of youth, on which most essentially depend my hopes of an advantageous change in the manners of the nation." But in the end he could not have taken more interest in the boys and their doings, or been better acquainted with the customs and history and traditions of the school, if he had been an Etonian himself. He said on one occasion, congratulating Dr. James on his success at Rugby, "It is no wonder you have been so successful, having been yourself educated at Eton."

His first recorded visit, in 1762, with his bride, we have already mentioned, but it was not only visits of a formal character that he paid. He often attended Speeches at Election, as on the occasion on which Lord Wellesley spoke before him, and was usually present at Montem, very often with Queen Charlotte and other members of the Royal Family. In 1796 he actually marshalled the Montem procession himself on horseback, and is said to have been much annoyed at the way the crowd pressed upon the

carriage of the Queen and Princesses, and to have asked those who appeared to be Londoners whether they were Etonians; "he did not remember their faces, and was sure that Etonians were better behaved."

This boast of his memory was no idle one; with the warm personal interest which he took in the school, he knew many of the boys by sight, and could remind Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in after life of his school prizes. If he saw a face he did not know he would stop its owner with "What's your name? Who's your tutor? Who's your dame?" and reply to the answer, "Very good tutor. Very good dame." He would stop, in passing through Eton on his way out hunting with the Royal Buckhounds, to greet any boys seated on the Wall that he knew, and always to ask questions: "Well, well, my boy, when were you flogged last, eh, eh? Your master is very kind to you all, is not he? Have you had any rebellions lately, eh, eh? Naughty boys, you know, sometimes! Should not you like to have a holiday, if I hear a good character of you, eh, eh? Well, well, we will see about it. But be good boys. Who is to have the Montem this year?" "Such a one, Your Majesty." "Lucky fellow, lucky fellow!"

On Sunday afternoons, when the Royal Family used to walk on the Terrace at Windsor, the boys used to go up in full dress (inking their legs if their black stockings had holes), and the King would come and talk and joke with them, and chaff boys about being out of bounds, for with the extraordinary legal fictions of that age, though the Terrace was in bounds, the way to it was not. He would, too, do acts of kindness to individual boys; one story is recorded of a boy rushing down town late for absence, and running into the King in the street. Stopping to apologize, he was, of course, late even for "second absence," and the good-natured King took down his name and wrote a note to the Head Master to explain the reason of his lateness. On another occasion,

when a boy was expelled for the then not uncommon exploit of poaching in Windsor Park, the King gave him a commission in the Guards, thinking the punishment unduly severe.

He used sometimes to invite the boys to entertainments at the Castle; on one occasion, when Masters and boys were invited to a concert, he invited the boys to stay to supper afterwards, but "remembered to forget" to extend the same hospitality to the Masters. In 1804, when he for a time recovered his reason, he went down to Eton in person to invite about eighty of the boys to a ball at Windsor, given for the amusement of the young Princesses.

Some of the boys were usually asked to the German plays that were a favourite amusement at the Castle. The public holiday for the King's Jubilee, which was held in October, 1810, was a great day. Besides the popular entertainments held in Bachelor's Acre, with the usual accompaniments of bullocks and sheep roasted whole, there was a whole holiday and additional good fare. Fifty of the Upper boys were invited to the entertainments in the evening at Frogmore, where the gardens were illuminated, and luxuries dear to boyish hearts were to be enjoyed in tents to the sound of military and other bands. The crowd in the streets of Windsor was so great that a troop of the Oxfordshire Yeomanry had to be requisitioned to clear a passage for the party of boys.

On this and several other occasions Queen Charlotte followed the King's example, and the author of *Eton of Old* records that on two occasions between 1811 and 1821 she invited the first hundred up to a *fête* at Frogmore.

On the second of these occasions the Queen notified her desire to see a game of cricket. So at the appointed day the eleven, all intent on playing their best, appeared before the Queen, who sat in State on the terrace in front of the house, surrounded by her daughter and ladies, the Prince Regent, *aides-de-camp*, and so forth, all standing. After the

game had been going on some time Princess Augusta, turning to the lady next to her, remarking that it was rather dull, asked, "When are the boys going to begin?"

A sumptuous repast in great profusion was served for the boys in the great tent that had been captured from Tippoo Sahib at Seringapatam; and after the Court had returned to Windsor the house was lighted up, and the boys were free to wander through the lower rooms at their will, and have coffee or spiced wine as they pleased.

A more melancholy occasion was the funeral of Princess Charlotte in 1817, when a number of the noblemen and some other boys were specially permitted to be present.

In 1820, when the King died, he lay in state for six weeks, and the whole school was admitted to see; and the actual funeral was attended by the first hundred by royal command. They were stationed in the nave of St. George's Chapel, and after the service was concluded were allowed to walk into the choir and look down upon the coffin in the vault where it rested temporarily, before being transferred by the underground passage to the royal mausoleum. The whole school went into mourning for months, and seem, like the Bar who went into mourning on the death of Queen Anne and have never come out, to have thenceforth taken to the black which is now the official wear.

The school has continued to keep the King's birthday, the Fourth of June. His successor's birthday fell in the holidays, and he was never popular at Eton, so the old day went on being kept; and now that the festivities of Election Saturday are no more, which used to be kept in much the same manner, the Fourth has become the great day in the Eton year, when old Etonians and the mothers and sisters of present Etonians assemble in hundreds. The programme of the day's amusements is practically unvarying, and seems to have been much the same for the last sixty years. Firstly, the day is in official language a *non dies*, or in the vulgar tongue a "long

lie"; that is to say, there is no school at all, not even the early school, which mars the symmetry of most whole holidays. In the morning there are Speeches delivered in the Upper School by the Sixth form before as many visitors as can be crammed in. The building of a Speech Hall is a project which has often of late years been discussed, but has never been carried out. The speakers are attired in full evening dress, with knee-breeches and black silk stockings, the Collegers in their gowns (see the picture facing p. 342), and a boy thus attired acting "Mrs. Malaprop" or "Launce and his dog," the dog a toy one on wheels, may seem somewhat grotesque. Latin, Greek, French, German, and occasionally Italian, besides English, figure in the programme.

The Provost and Fellows entertain a large luncheon party in the College Hall, and afterwards a cricket match and band in the Playing Fields fill up the interval till tea. At six o'clock there is absence in School Yard, and after that the whole concourse moves down to the Brocas to see the start of the boats, with their crews in fancy dress, for Surley, or more strictly speaking for Boveney, for the supper which the crews and other of the "swells" enjoy now takes place on the Bucks shore. When the crews return they come down through Romney Lock, and the sightseers assemble on Fellows' Eyot to watch the display of fireworks from Romney Island, while the bells peal from the Curfew Tower at Windsor and the boats row up and down, the crews tossing or standing with their oars amid showers of sparks and rockets. Until recent years the fireworks were let off from Piper's Eyot, just above Windsor Bridge, but the horde of visitors which the railway companies pour nowadays into Eton has necessitated a move to Romney Island, with Fellows' Eyot for sightseers admitted only by ticket. If the supper at Surley has also to be given up it will not be surprising. It may be noted that the arrangements for the fireworks and supper are in the hands of the Captain of the Oppidans,

CHARLES THEOPHILUS, LORD METCALFE

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY J. J. MASQUERIER IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

probably enough a survival from the time when the Masters affected to ignore the existence of the boats and the celebrations of the latter end of the day altogether; but it forms only another instance of the independence of the Eton boy, and that spirit of self-reliance and the power of management of his own affairs that the whole system inculcates.

In Dr. Heath's days there were none of those compulsory games which seem to shock so much the old women of both sexes who write to *The Times;* and a boy who was studiously inclined had plenty of leisure to read, where and how he liked. Charles Metcalfe, afterwards Lord Metcalfe, went to Eton at the age of eleven at the beginning of 1796, and remained there four years. He boarded with his Tutor, Goodall, who succeeded Heath as Head Master. He was neither "wet-bob" nor "dry-bob," and seems to have spent great part of his play hours in reading. A journal kept during his last year at Eton shows that he was reading Ariosto, Gibbon, Voltaire; studying the question of the authenticity of the Chatterton poems; writing a translation of Rousseau; writing poetry and practising drawing. His only recorded athletic exploit was one, the story of which Dr. Goodall used to tell years afterwards: "I heard the boys shouting, and went out and saw young Metcalfe riding on a camel; so you see he was always Orientally inclined." Kaye, his biographer, thinks Dr. Goodall's explanation was probably correct, so miserable a horseman was he always.

Dr. Goodall had always a great admiration of and belief in his pupil, but the half in which Metcalfe left the school, they carried on a spirited contest as to the introduction of the luxury of afternoon tea. Metcalfe seems to have formed a sort of afternoon tea club with three or four friends, meeting in each other's rooms "after six" for this refreshment. Goodall remonstrated and objected, but finally gave way; and his successors now and for many years past have provided it themselves for their boarders.

CHAPTER XIV.

DR. GOODALL — LAXNESS OF DISCIPLINE — BEN DRURY, KNAPP, AND BETHELL AS MASTERS—GAMES: LICENSED AND UNLICENSED—SHELLEY'S SCHOOL DAYS.

IN 1801 Heath resigned the headmastership, and was elected a Fellow. He was succeeded by Dr. Joseph Goodall, who had been an Assistant Master for eighteen years. Goodall had many of the qualities that are required in a Head Master; he was an excellent scholar, a man of learning in other departments as well as the classics; a thorough gentleman, of fine and dignified presence; but in the condition of extremely lax discipline in which the school then was, a man of greater firmness and strength of will, even of greater severity, was required. One of his pupils says of him: "There was a pleasant joyousness in him which beamed and overflowed in his face; and it seemed an odd caprice of fortune by which such a jovial spirit was invested with the solemn dignity of a Head Master." He was much sought after in society, owing to his rich fund of anecdote, his sprightly wit, and genial spirits. One good story is told of a repartee of his, when Provost, to William IV. The King, with questionable taste, said to Keate, with a nod at Goodall, "When he goes, I'll make you him." Keate made no answer beyond a bow; but Goodall, turning round, said: "I could never think of going before Your Majesty"; and he kept his word. Charles Simeon, however, once got the better of the Provost. At one Election Saturday dinner,

after a good deal of chaff from the Provost, who was in his merriest mood, he said to Charles Simeon, "I think, Mr. Simeon, that in our early days you were in the Sense and I was in the Nonsense."* "Just so, Mr. Provost, and there we have remained ever since."

One is perhaps rather apt to lose sight of Dr. Goodall's merits as a Head Master in wrath at his obstructions to reform as a Provost; and it is only just to him to quote the testimony of his pupil, Dr. Hawtrey, who himself suffered from those obstructions: "He had a peculiar talent of finding out and stirring up latent powers—powers of which from snubbing and neglect the possessor himself was wholly ignorant, and ready to give up all exertion in despair. Goodall caught at the first symptom of merit, gave it more than its due praise, but not more than the broken spirit required; and if he found responsive diligence, he took the earliest opportunity of rewarding it, and thereby making a character which might, by less kind management, have soon sunk into absolute and inconceivable nothingness."

Added to this talent for encouragement, Goodall inspired such an enthusiasm for self-culture in the boys that came under his teaching that not one of the set to which Dr. Hawtrey, Bishop Lonsdale, and Stratford Canning belonged, "would ever think of going into school without being prepared to illustrate the lesson, if it were Homer, or Virgil, from not only Milton, but from Dante and Tasso; if it were Demosthenes or Cicero, from great English orators; if a Greek play, from the great modern dramatists, whether French or English." A Head Master with these merits cannot have been anything but a great influence on his generation, in spite of disciplinary shortcomings.

Goodall was a great personal favourite with George III., and this personal popularity no doubt largely contributed

* Two divisions of the Lower School, so-called from the two sorts of Latin verses which they did.

to increase the popularity of the school, in spite of the defects of discipline. Its numbers rose again to 511, though that was not as high as they had reached under Barnard's mastership.

The school at this time is thus described by an Etonian then in the school in a letter to the author of *Etoniana*:—

"When I went to Eton, Goodall was Head Master, and 'Cocky' Keate ruled the lower regions. We had an excellent staff of lieutenants: Thackeray, afterwards Provost of King's; Bethel, a very magnificent gentleman; Carter, now Vice-Provost; Sumner, the most popular of Tutors; Drury, *eheu! facile princeps*, in all things the admirable Crichton of his day, but who disappeared in a clouded noon. In the Lower school were Charles Yonge, Plumtre, and Knapp. The system of the school was then, as now, to prepare the lessons of the day with one's Tutor, and then take them up to construe to the Master of the Division. There was too much tendency to favouritism; either from rank or ability, some had the lion's share of being called up. I conclude this is a weak point, not confined to any age or system; but it acted badly at Eton in my day; it damped eager aspirations, crushed hope, and induced carelessness. The fairest chance a boy had was in his papers, his copy of verses, his theme, his personal stock that no one could touch; and as he rose in the school and reached 'play' (confined to the Sixth and a few of the Upper Division, before the Head Master), whatever abilities he might have were then appreciated. But of this special teaching the Collegers reaped the chief benefit; not many Oppidans remained so long; there was a great drain in those days for the army and navy. Our battle-ground was the playing-fields. The great battle in my time was between Coleridge (now Sir John) and Horace Mann; it had lasted an hour, when Goodall, the Head Master, came down and stopped it. My friend Rawnsley also fought a capital fight with one W——, a big bully, and thrashed him off in twenty minutes, the Duke of Leinster giving him a knee.

"I think the type of our time was to be read in the excellence of our games. The boats were first-rate, the eleven of football, and the eleven of cricket, unrivalled. Then there were games illicit, but winked at; the amateur theatricals; the billiard rooms;

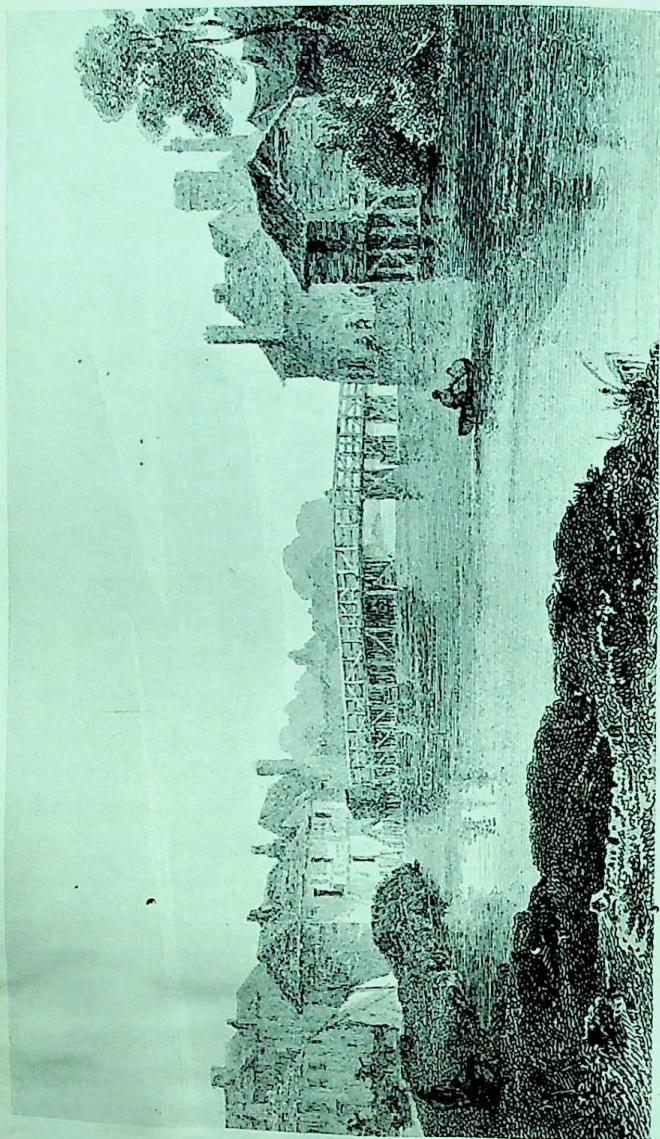
Huddleston's, of Windsor, and Gray's at the foot of the bridge, where you sometimes made way for your Tutor! There was even Ascot at rare intervals. There was the dear old Christopher in the midst of us, where many a bowl of bishop was discussed, in innocent proportions, prepared by the good and careful Garraway. The marvel of marvels was that, amongst the whole 600, all enjoyed their own peculiar privileges, according to age and standing, without disorder or collision—such was the discipline of the boys' own creating—from the lowest boy to him who held the enviable position of Captain of the school."

This is the fairest side of the shield; a good deal might have been said on the other side as to shortcomings in teaching, as to the evils of the Christopher, and of boyish discipline ending in bullying. Of these "excellent lieutenants" Bethell was not remarkable as a scholar if the stories of him are to be credited. Two of his explanations during construing are preserved. "*Postes aeratos*, 'brazen gates.' Yes, that is right, probably so-called because they were made of brass"; and on a boy construing "*duplice ficu*" "with a double fig" the comment was, "Right, quite right, a kind of fig that was double." Generally the explanations or comments were nil.

It is said that it was owing to Bethell that the custom arose, which still prevails, of showing up in school the foul copy of Latin or Greek exercises, which has been looked over and corrected by the Tutor, as well as the fair one. Formerly the fair one only was shown up, but one day Dr. Keate said to Bethell, "I wish you would be more careful about your pupil's exercises. A copy of Greek Iambics shown up to me this morning had in it eleven false quantities." "Ah," said Bethell, "I daresay there were; you should have seen 'em before I looked over 'em." And for the future Keate did. When later on, as Fellow, he preached in the Chapel, he was described, in Eton verse, thus:—

"Didactic, dry, declamatory, dull,
Big-bellied Bethell bellows like a bull."

One or two other peculiarities are recorded of him as a Master. In Montem years it was permitted to Fifth form Oppidans to wear, for the rest of the half in school, the red coats that had been used in the procession, but Bethell particularly disliked the habit, and always made a point of picking out those wearing them and calling them up to construe, until at last one day his whole form, by common consent, appeared in them. Bethell was wrathful but helpless. It should, however, be remembered to Bethell's credit as Fellow, that he was always on the side of reform, and especially on behalf of the unfortunate Collegers; as he said with perfect truth on one Founder's Day dinner, "I have always stood up for the statutable rights of the Scholars."

One other story of Bethell, years after this, when he was a Fellow, is perhaps worth quoting. He was distributing the threepennies, which every Colleger receives on February 27th, in Hall. Somehow or another there was a tradition in College, which subsists to the present day, that half a sheep is what the Colleger is really entitled to, and that the College evade their obligation by giving the value of half a sheep in the Middle Ages. In point of fact the three pence do not all come from the same benefactor, the Colleger never was given half a sheep, and at no time since the foundation could half a sheep have been bought for three pence. But the tradition dies hard, and some time in the fifth decade of this century a boy, named Charles Henry Branwell, on being tendered his three pence by Bethell, said, "No thank you, sir; I want my half sheep." "Bethell flew into an awful rage," says the late Montagu Williams, who tells the story, and exclaimed, "I'll mention this matter to Dr. Hawtrey and have you flogged." And so two rods, for impudence, was his portion. Branwell was one of the two candidates for thirty-five vacancies on the foundation in 1841, and came up for examination without the necessary

WINDSOR BRIDGE IN 1811

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY W. B. COOKE

certificate of baptism. Provost Hodgson sent at once for a basin of water into Election Chamber and baptized him on the spot, the two "posers" standing godfathers.

Ben Drury was the most reputed Tutor of the time; the typical Etonian of that age was, as Praed sings, "a happy boy at Drury's." Both he and Knapp were great admirers of the drama, and used often to drive up to town together on a Saturday night in time for the play, returning on Monday morning, correcting exercises as they drove along. Somtimes they would take a favourite pupil or two with them. One of Knapp's pupils speaks of "the occasional rattle up to London with him (the phaeton waiting in the Slough Road)—the Juliet—the Sir Giles—the Bedford—the broiled fowl and mushroom sauce—the Hounslow posters—and the return in time for six o'clock lesson—*O noctes coenaeque Deûm.*" Captain Gronow, by no means an accurate purveyor of anecdote, declares that on one of these occasions Drury and Knapp, with the two boys they had brought with them, Lord Sunderland and the Honourable William Scott, Lord Eldon's second son, started out after supper in search of adventures, and after several encounters with the watch were carried off to Bow Street, and had to be bailed out by the Chancellor's Secretary. Whether true or not the story is, to a certain extent, corroborated by another story of Drury appearing in the Head Master's Chambers before eleven o'clock school one morning with a black eye and a severe bruise behind the ear, which he mendaciously explained to Dr. Keate as caused by a cricket ball. Another boy, who was under him in the Remove, says: "We often found we had a holiday on Monday morning, as the headache he had contracted in London on the previous day confined him to his bed. He made beautiful verses, and drove four-in-hand better than any whip between Windsor and London."

Both Drury and Knapp were excellent and brilliant scholars; Knapp especially had a happy knack of Latin

verses. In a letter to an old pupil Knapp protests against the *labor ineptiarum* of *Arundines Cami* and the melancholy spectacle of a Provost of Eton translating into Latin verse "Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall." "I can fancy," he says, "old Cam thus rebuking him:—

> "No wreath of bays will I accord
> To deck your hoary hair;
> A pap-boat be your best reward,
> Or perforated chair."

When Drury left Eton he went to live in Guernsey, and used to take some of the Upper boys of Queen Elizabeth's College to coach in Greek. A friend found him one day with four or five pupils sitting round with books in their hands, lecturing them on Sophocles, but without a book himself. Asked how he could get on without a book, "Oh, he knew all those things by heart; had not brought over his books," and would by no means condescend to borrow any from his friend.

A somewhat sharp temper Ben Drury seems to have had, but a persuasive tongue. One story is told of his method of administering punishment to Miss Angelo's boarders who had successfully "broziered" their dame. What that operation was it is necessary to explain to the non-Etonian reader, and perhaps even to some Etonians of this generation. The method of protest against dinners deficient in quality or quantity was to conspire to eat up everything on the table and continually ask for more. When dinner table and larder were bare the "brozier" was complete. This happened to Miss Angelo, and she went in great wrath to Drury to tell the tale. The sequel shall be told in the historian's own words:—

"The custom of 'saying by heart' was on this wise. Everyone had to say about ten lines down to the first full stop, or intelligible break; so that twenty or more boys standing before a Master's desk

were able within three or four of their turn to get up their ten glibly with just a simmering memory of the other sixty.

"It was Virgil. An Angelo came up with his glib ten. Ben Drury made no sign at their end. The Angelo faltered; blundered; stammered. 'Put him in the bill; I'll teach you to brozier your Dame.'

"*Quid plura?* Every Angelo in that division underwent the same formula, and was flogged, and soundly flogged too; for it was not the normal five for non-saying, but the abnormal two-rod-ten for insolence and insubordination."

On another occasion of this kind a boy at Miss Holt's, who had been a ringleader in "broziering" her, was sent away from her house and taken in by Miss Angelo, which evoked the following epigram from Knapp:—

> "Esuriens sitiens sed nullo crimine notus
> Appius hospitio pellitur Holte tuo;
> Ut videt extorrem sexagenaria virgo,
> Protinus Angelicis additur ille choris."

But brilliant and witty as Knapp might be, he was as a Form Master hardly successful. It was largely due to the huge size of the Divisions up to each Master, and the inadequate size of the schoolrooms. When some years later, under Keate, he was in charge of the Remove, the state of things is thus described by a contemporary:—

"One hundred and fourteen boys (the whole Remove) were nominally up to him, but the little narrow room, which was called "the Black Hole" in summer, could not, by any arrangement of seats—which were very small and fixed in slanting and sloping steps nearly up to the ceiling—nor by any thick packing—which was always a source of squabbling and contest among the boys—be made to hold more than about eighty, so that there were always about thirty in the doorway and sitting on the stairs, many of them out of sight and, of course, out of command. As soon as a boy was called up in the room there was, by agreement, a general crowding of the doorway to damp the sound and hide the slinking away of

parties in turns to go and have a game of fives. Supposing one of the players to be called up, notice was given by whistle, and he was across the yard in a few seconds. In the meantime there was, by agreement again, a squeeze and apparent struggle at the doorway, as if someone was trying to get through. 'Make way; let him pass,' said Knapp; and as soon as he was really there he was shoved and pushed, and perhaps hoisted over the shoulders, and came a somersault into the room, puffing and blowing from his race across the school-yard, which Knapp seemed to think was the result of his ardour to get through the opposing crowd; and the latter came in for the explosion of ire instead of the real culprit, who had been at the fives wall enjoying himself. That, or such like, were the scenes witnessed every day. Half the time which ought to have been devoted to lessons was lost in laughter, threats, and wrangling, and vain attempts to keep order.

"Knapp was always ridiculously mild or ridiculously fierce. He would often sit with mouth open and vacant stare, making no remark at all sorts of rows going on outside, but all of a sudden he would call out—

"'Brown, I hear you. Præpostor, put Brown in the bill.'

"'Please, sir, I am doing nothing. I didn't speak.'

"'I don't care; I will have somebody flogged. Take the bill up to the Head Master.'

"After school Brown, who really had not been implicated *that time*, came with face of injured innocence and gave Knapp his honour 'he was doing nothing,' and the good-natured little man, whose anger had now effervesced, was easily persuaded, and sent up the præpostor the next school time to withdraw Brown's name with excuse of mistaken identity."

Something has been said of the slackness of discipline at this time, and some of the escapades quite common then would seem almost incredible now. Riding, driving, hunting, and billiard playing were quite common. To drive a tandem was the ambition of the more daring spirits; Henry Matthews, author of the *Diary of an Invalid*, and a Judge in Ceylon, drove one right through Windsor and Eton without being stopped; and the sporting swells used to have their tandems waiting at Spiers' Corner, where the New

Schools now stand, to drive up to town at the beginning of the holidays.

Matthews seems to have been a boy of reckless spirit; on one occasion he induced some other madcaps to make a bonfire on the floor of Long Chamber of all the boughs that had been used according to custom to adorn the room on Election Saturday; fortunately, beyond an appalling smoke, no particular harm was done. Shooting and poaching were also favourite amusements, more especially among the Collegers, who were glad thus to supplement their scanty larder.

Poaching, even in the Royal demesne, was not unknown, and sometimes exciting adventures resulted therefrom. A boy called Coke on one occasion determined to bag a hare from the Little Park, where they abounded. So providing himself with a gun and a boat, and accompanied by another boy, he pulled across the river opposite the Oak Tree in the Playing Fields. He left his companion in the boat, and scaling the park wall, saw a hare sitting, which he proceeded to shoot, and got down to pick up. But a keeper was lying in wait close by, and Coke, seeing not a moment was to be lost, threw the hare over the wall, shouting to warn his friend, who with considerable poltroonery, as Coke found when he reached the other side of the wall, at once started off rowing for the other shore as hard as he could. There was nothing for it but to plunge in, though the river was in flood, and throwing his gun into the river, he succeeded in reaching the Playing Fields with the hare in his teeth.

Shortly after this a keeper was more successful, and caught and carried off to his house another boy, who was coursing with two friends and a greyhound. A message was sent to the Head Master, stating the cause of his detention, and the King was informed of the crime and the capture. In the result the culprit got out of it rather successfully, for though he was kept for the night in the keeper's house, he was well

entertained by the keeper's pretty daughter, and the King and the Head Master leaving it to the other to fix the punishment, further punishment there was none. The incident seems to have considerably amused Dr. Goodall, who delivered a mock-heroic speech in Upper School on the subject, suggesting that it was an offence nothing short of high treason, probably to be punished capitally. To be caught with a gun was of course a dire offence, involving generally a flogging, and worse still, the forfeiture of the weapon, when the sum to be paid to the "cad" who hired it out was probably ruinous.

The "cad" at this time, sometimes known facetiously as "a private tutor," performed a very large function in the mimic republic. The writer of the account of Eton in *The English Spy* gives the Five Orders of Eton as Doctor, Dame, Colleger, Oppidan, Cad, with their portraits; and has preserved the names of some of those who ministered to the wants of Etonians.

Besides the fights alluded to by the old Etonian quoted above, there was a famous fight between a Colleger and an Oppidan, which was for that reason contested with unusual vehemence; it lasted three hours, and was only stopped then by Goodall himself going down to the Playing Fields and putting an end to it.

In the year 1796, as we have already mentioned, Westminster beat Eton in a cricket match at Hounslow Heath, and matches were played regularly till 1801, when Westminster was so badly beaten that no match has since taken place between the schools.

In 1802 the first match with Harrow was played, but the match did not at once become a regular institution.

In 1805 there was a match, the earliest of which the score has been preserved, in which Lord Byron played for Harrow, scoring 7 and 2. Eton won by an innings and 2 runs.

It is said that after the match the Eton captain sent to the Harrow captain the following quatrain :—

> "Adventurous Boys of Harrow School,
> Of cricket you 've no knowledge ;
> You play not cricket, but the fool,
> With men of Eton College" ;

which, for its rudeness, deserved the smarter retort :—

> "Ye Eton wags ! to play the fool
> Is not the boast of Harrow School ;
> What wonder, then, at our defeat,
> Folly like yours could not be beat."

The next match of which there is any record was in 1818, in which Harrow won by 13 runs ; but the Eton eleven was by no means a representative one. The Head Masters of the respective schools would not allow the match to be played during the school time, and so almost at the last moment it was determined to hold it at Lord's at the beginning of the holidays. But while the whole Harrow eleven turned up on the ground, only three of the Eton eleven appeared, and the eleven had to be made up with four or five more of the Upper Club, and other boys picked up off the ground who had only come to see the match.

The next match was in 1822, when Harrow again won, by 87 runs, and the match since then has taken place annually, with the exception of the years 1826, 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1856.

In 1857 the match was not a regular one. No boys who were not leaving the school were allowed by the Eton authorities to play at Lord's, and so the match as played was one of Etonians under twenty-one against Harrovians under twenty.

The first Eton and Winchester match was in 1826, and with some occasional intermissions the match has gone on ever since. In old days it used to be played at Lord's, and the three schools played each other. The Eton and Winchester

match took place at Lord's for the last time in 1854, since when it has been played alternately at Eton and Winchester; while since then the Harrow *v.* Winchester match has not taken place at all.

Matches also used to take place with the Marylebone and Epsom Clubs at a very early period. One match in particular, against the M.C.C., when Sir Christopher Willoughby went in first and carried out his bat by the aid of his "system of beautiful blocking," and thus largely contributed to the victory of the school, was long remembered; and the hero of it was greeted with a round of applause when he appeared in Upper School at the next lesson. As an eye-witness says: "For the time all construing ceased, and our Head Master (Goodall) greeted the modest Sir Christopher with language savouring of the greatest delight."

An Etonian who entered the school in 1799 at the age of eight, enumerates among his amusements "hunting small birds in the hedges with leaded sticks [a diversion otherwise known as 'toodling'], leaping the common ditch, giving a duck a slight poke on the head with a stone; making old Pocock, the farmer, at the corner of Cut-throat Lane, sometimes minus a few eggs; amassing almost a little fortune by boss and marbles in the School Yard, upper and lower fives"; and giving runaway knocks at the Dames' houses on his way home from five o'clock school.

Swimming was a favourite amusement; there was in those days no regular instruction in the art, which was taught by certain of the "cads" who frequented the "wall," or in a more informal fashion to new boys by taking them out in a boat and throwing them overboard. In these unsophisticated times boys would start at Upper Hope and swim down through Windsor Bridge to Cotton's Hole, or take headers off Windsor Bridge. Perhaps, to our great-grandsons, it may seem as strange that we thought it no shame to

frequent Athens and Boveney in the costume of Eden. "Shampo" Carter, who "for swimming, shooting, or fishing was the man," was the favourite teacher of swimming, and with others was appointed by the Head Master to be at the bathing-places to prevent accidents; and further, boys not able to swim were forbidden to bathe at the more dangerous places, but the greatest danger arose from boys not knowing how to swim being allowed to boat. There was a superstition in the school that a boy was drowned every three years, which certainly held true very often.

The Collegers in those days had shorter holidays than the Oppidans, for they had them docked at both ends. The beginning of the holidays was always the signal for sporting attire that was not tolerated during the school time. Every self-respecting boy must appear in the boots that befitted a man; and the swells of the day in cords and hunting coats, either on horseback or driving tandems. Lillywhite's and Thumwood's coaches carried off the humbler members of the school, the Lower boys all armed with pea-shooters; while those who started early took the precaution of putting on their clean shirts overnight.

Many eminent men were pupils of Goodall—too many to enumerate—but excelling them all was Percy Bysshe Shelley, and a word or two on his school life seems not out of place. That he was known as "mad Shelley," and that he suffered some amount of bullying on account of his quick temper and for refusing to fag for Henry Matthews, seems indisputable; but it is certainly doubtful whether he suffered quite as much as some of his biographers would have us believe. It is true he wrote:—

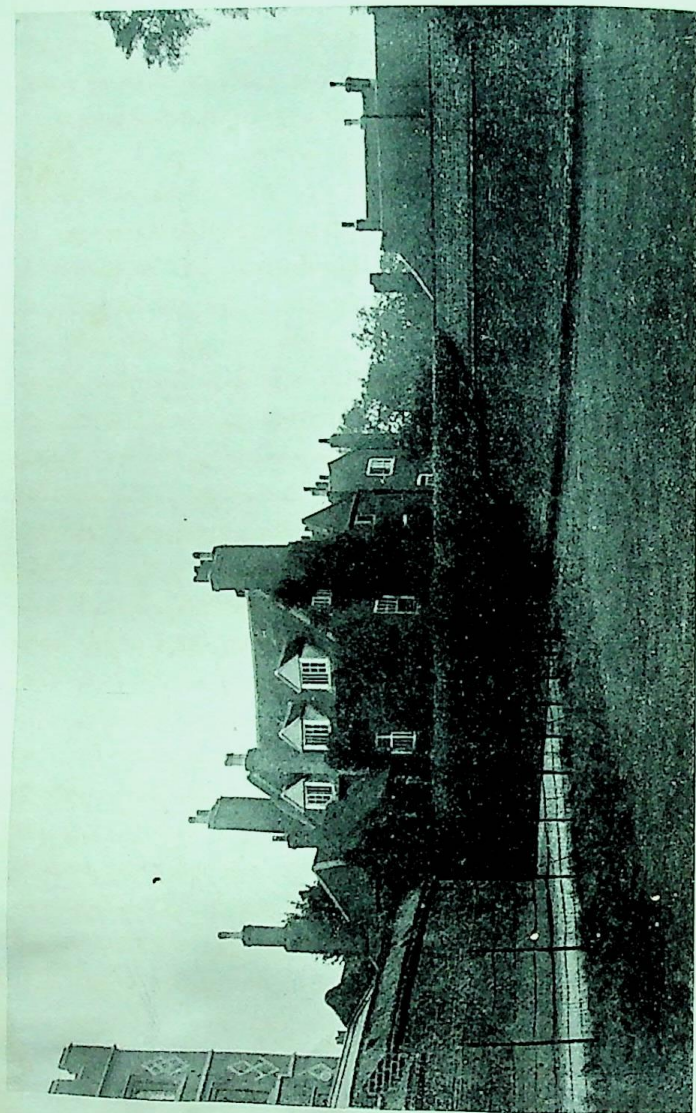
> "A fresh May-dawn it was
> When I walked forth upon the glittering grass
> And wept, I knew not why: until there rose
> From the near schoolroom voices that, alas!
> Were but one echo from a world of woes—
> The harsh and grating strife of tyrants and of foes."

But it was almost certainly Sion House Academy, the private school at which he was before coming to Eton, that he is here referring to, and he could in after years write:—

> "'Ay, heave the ballast overboard,
> And stow the eatables in the aft locker.'
> 'Would not this keg be best a little lowered?'
> 'No; now's all right.' 'Those bottles of warm tea—
> (Give me some straw)—must be stowed tenderly;
> Such as we used in summer, after six,
> To cram in great-coat pockets, and to mix
> Hard eggs and radishes and rolls at Eton,
> And couched on stolen hay in those green harbours
> Farmers call gaps, and we schoolboys called arbours,
> Would feast till eight'";

which looks as if some of his recollections of Eton were pleasant enough.

Shelley had an interest in natural science, which was regarded as something uncanny at Eton in those days, and one hears of him sending off fire-balloons, dabbling in chemistry, keeping an electric machine, from which Bethell, his tutor, one day received a violent shock, and setting on fire a willow in South Meadow with a burning-glass. But he remained at Eton till he reached Sixth form and had fags of his own, one of whom, the late Canon Harvey of Gloucester, used proudly to relate the fact, and gratefully remembered his kindness as a fagmaster.

At Election, 1810, he spoke part of Cicero's oration against Catiline. Captain Gronow tells a story of a fight in which Shelley figured stalking round the ring, reciting defiant speeches out of Homer, and was most ignominiously defeated. The story is probably as baseless as many other of the Captain's stories. He describes himself as a friend and associate of Shelley's at Eton, which, considering how short a time they were together in the school, and how much junior the Captain was, is incredible; and further, the Homeric story is told by Mr. Wilkinson of Lord Mexborough

HOUSE BY THE PLAYING FIELDS' ENTRANCE
FORMERLY HEXTER'S WHERE SHELLEY BOARDED

in his fight with Hoseason, and it is hardly likely that such an incident occurred twice.

Shelley boarded when he first went to Eton at Hexter's, which house still stands; but Bethell's, his tutor's, where he was for the larger portion of his Eton life, no longer exists. The house was last Wayte's, and was pulled down in 1863 to make room for the New Schools.

Dr. Goodall's headmastership was also remarkable for a second literary venture, very much on the lines of *The Microcosm*, and entitled *The Miniature*. The first number was published on April 23rd, 1804, and its last and thirty-fourth on May 6th, 1805. The leading spirit was Stratford Canning, who not five years later was bearding the Grand Turk, and he was helped by Thomas Rennell, afterwards Vicar of Kensington, Henry Gally-Knight, the antiquary, and Richard and Gerald Wellesley, the sons of the Marquis of Wellesley. It is, it must be confessed, somewhat dull, and inferior both in style and matter to *The Microcosm*. In 1805 the whole was republished in an octavo volume and dedicated to Dr. Goodall. The most interesting part of the story here comes in. The editors were in some anxiety as to their financial obligations to their publisher, Charles Knight, when John Murray the first, then a small bookseller in Fleet Street, came to their aid. He bought up and destroyed the unsold copies of the book, and brought out at his own expense a new edition in two duodecimo volumes, with the addition of six fresh papers, making forty in all. Pecuniarily it was a failure, but it brought Murray into connection with Stratford Canning's cousin, George Canning, and thereby led to the starting of the *Quarterly Review* and the foundation of the fortunes of the great publishing firm.

In 1809 there was a tremendous flood, which carried away six of the central arches of the old Fifteen Arch Bridge on the Slough Road, that spans the stream which feeds Fellows' Pond. For five days the only communication with some of

the boarding-houses was by boats and carts, and the school had practically a week's holiday. The boys lay in bed till a late hour, and when they got up it was to play cards and get into other mischief. Driving down Eton Street in carts, with the risk of getting spilt into the water, was another amusement.

There have been two floods since that have been as serious, one in 1852, the year that the Duke of Wellington died, and one in 1894, when the whole school were sent home, and many of the Masters who remained behind spent their time in feeding and rescuing the population in the surrounding villages. The water in 1894 reached a depth of 1 foot 10½ inches in the College cellar, the greatest depth ever recorded being 2 feet 4 inches, in the great flood of 1774.

The College replaced the six arches with three of larger span, which lasted till 1833, when the whole was pulled down and the present bridge of three arches built at the expense of the county, but with true Eton conservatism it still retains the name of Fifteen Arch Bridge.

CHAPTER XV.

DR. KEATE—KINGLAKE'S DESCRIPTION—HIS CHARACTER—ANECDOTES OF HIM AND HIS FLOGGINGS—SHIRKING—ATTEMPTED REBELLIONS.

IN 1809 Provost Davies died, and on the recommendation of Lord Wellesley the King nominated Goodall to the vacant appointment.

His place was taken by John Keate, the Lower Master, who ruled Eton for twenty-five years with such fame and vigour that his name is as well known to the general public as that of Dr. Busby. Stories of him are endless, though probably often apocryphal, and his appearance and peculiarities have been often described by Etonians, who are apt to look on Keate's time as the golden age of Eton, after which decay began.

Kinglake's classic description in *Eothen* will stand quotation yet once again, but it should be premised that the passage is admittedly caricature, and written to enhance the contrast between the original and the fair girl with blue eyes, described by a clairvoyant Egyptian boy when "John Keate" was named to him. "You are not an Etonian, and I must tell you, therefore, what manner of man it was that I named, though I think you must have some idea of him already, for wherever, from utmost Canada to Bundelcund, there was a whitewashed wall to an officer's room, or any other apartment in which English gentlemen were forced to kick their heels, there likely enough (in the

days of his reign) the head of Keate would be seen, scratched or drawn with those various degrees of skill which one observes in the representation of saints. Anybody without the least notion of drawing could still draw a speaking, nay scolding, likeness of Keate. If you had no pencil you could draw him well enough with a poker, or the leg of a chair, or the smoke of a candle. He was little more (if more at all) than five feet in height, and was not very great in girth, but in this space was concentrated the pluck of ten battalions. He had a really noble voice, and this he could modulate with great skill; but he also had the power of quacking like an angry duck, and he almost always adopted this mode of communication in order to inspire respect; he was a capital scholar, but his ingenuous learning had *not* softened his manners, and had permitted them to be fierce—tremendously fierce; he had the most complete command over his temper —I mean over his good temper, which he scarcely ever allowed to appear; you could not put him out of humour—that is, out of the *ill*-humour which he thought to be fitting for a Head Master. His red shaggy eyebrows were so prominent that he habitually used them as arms and hands for the purpose of pointing at any object whatever to which he wished to direct attention. The rest of his features were equally striking in their way, and were all in all his own. He wore a fancy dress partly resembling the costume of Napoleon, and partly that of a widow woman." The fancy dress was the cassock bands and gown of a Doctor of Divinity, surmounted by the three-cornered "wind-cutter" hat, then worn by the Head and Lower Masters. Goodall and Langford had worn wigs also. The last of these three-cornered hats worn by Keate is now preserved at Eton. The last time he went into Chambers, to meet his Assistant Masters, he threw the hat on the floor, saying, "This will not be used again," and it was picked up and preserved by Edward Coleridge, by a member of whose family it was

JOHN KEATE, D.D.

MRS. KEATE

FROM MINIATURES IN THE POSSESSION OF RICHARD DURNFORD, ESQ.

sent to the present Head Master some fourteen or fifteen years ago.

Keate took the reins with a good deal against him; not only was discipline, as we have said, very slack, but he was succeeding an unusually popular Head Master, and there was a large section of the school who thought that Ben Drury should have been appointed. It was evidently felt that much of the idleness and other excesses was going to be suppressed, and that times were about to change. Drury seems to have found it necessary to warn some of his pupils that he did not desire any demonstrations in his favour, which were only calculated to make his relations with the new Head Master uncomfortable.

Keate was a brilliant scholar, though he left, except in tradition, no work of scholarship to preserve his memory. He was especially great on Horace, and some of his comments and elucidations have found a place in Yonge's edition of the poet. That he had no ideas of education outside a strictly classical course, that he should think it sufficient if his boys could quote Horace and Virgil and write brilliant Latin verses is not to be wondered at; few Head Masters or public schools at that day looked for more; and strange as it may appear to some of our modern reformers, who would have us learn "everything by turns and nothing long," the results were astonishing. Year after year Keate sent boys up to the Universities trained on this narrow system, who yet won prizes and first-classes, and afterwards distinguished themselves in the world. The curriculum may have been narrow, yet the grounding it gave served its pursuers in very good stead.

How narrow the educational curriculum was it is difficult to imagine nowadays, but even if Keate had wanted to introduce any large changes, it was perfectly impossible to do so in the teeth of Dr. Goodall's opposition. The Provost, though a man of many and varied intellectual interests

himself, thought that Eton as it was was so perfect that no change could be for good, whether intellectual or material. No mathematics were compulsory, the smallest elements were taught as an extra by Major Hexter, the Writing Master. The author of *Eton of Old* says that he did his first problem in Euclid when he went up to Cambridge. And yet Goodall must have known of the importance of the study, and in a letter to his old pupil, Lord Metcalfe, speaks with pride of two Eton Senior Wranglers, Sir William Herschell and Sir John Shaw Lefevre.

French and Drawing might be learnt as extras along with Dancing and Fencing. But History, English Literature, Geography, except so far as it bore on the Classics, Natural Science, were unknown. The nearest approach to instruction in Natural Science was that every two or three years, in the course of his travels from one school to another over England, Philosopher Walker and his Eidouranion appeared for an authorized lecture. The teaching staff was ludicrously inadequate; Assistant Masterships were considered the appanage of Fellows of King's, and in consequence the supply was often both short and inefficient. Eight or nine Masters were the whole number that Keate had for the 500 or 600 boys in the Upper School, and it was considered a great innovation when he appointed Edward Coleridge, an Oxford man, a Master. The average number of boys under an Assistant Master in the Upper School was seventy, and a popular tutor could have as many pupils. To some extent the private tutors employed by wealthy parents to look after their sons supplied deficiencies. There seem sometimes to have been as many as twenty or thirty at a time. The custom of sending private tutors with boys to Eton was of considerable antiquity. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century they seem to have been sometimes queer fish. A letter writer, speaking of that time, says: "Bower is the only Scotch tutor I ever remember to have been respected in my

time at Eton; they were in general strange animals. Good God! what a wretch the poor Fitzroys had for a tutor! He had nearly killed one of them, but that the boys forced into the house and interposed."

The foundation of the annual Newcastle scholarship by the Duke of Newcastle in 1829 undoubtedly caused a good deal of intellectual activity. It is worth £50 a year, and tenable for three years, and is the highest classical distinction obtainable at Eton. To encourage the study of Divinity was also an integral part of the Duke's plan, and three papers, on the Acts, on one of the four Gospels, and on General Divinity and Church History, still form an important part of the examination; and the best papers in this subject are now rewarded with the Wilder Divinity Prize, founded by the late Vice-Provost, who, during his lifetime, always made a point of asking his prizeman to breakfast.

But it is as a disciplinarian that Keate's fame is perennial. "I'll flog you," a phrase which, though it may succinctly express his system, was probably, in point of fact, seldom or never used, has passed into a proverb, and forms an unvarying part of countless stories.

As one of his pupils has pointed out, most of Keate's floggings were on complaints of other Masters made to him, not of his own motion; the Sixth and Upper Fifth forms who came most in contact with him were above the flogging line. We may doubt the comment on the beatitude: "'Blessed are the pure in heart.' Mind that, it's your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart, I'll flog you." But there are other stories better authenticated not so very far away from this. The late Sir Thomas Whichcote used to tell the following:—He was walking one day through Fourth Form Passage when the Head Master met him and stopped. "Boy, what is that book you are carrying?" It proved to be a dictionary. "I thought it was a Bible. Read your Bible, boy, or I'll flog you." This resembles superficially,

"I'll have no boys carrying about folios; if I see a boy with a folio I'll flog him"; but that story is to be explained by the fact that tin cans made to resemble books were used for smuggling liquor from the Christopher.

There is a story of one of the Bosanquets objecting to his name being pronounced by the Head Master at absence with the accent on the second syllable, and refusing to answer. Pleading this mispronunciation in answer to the usual threat, the Head Master is said to have retorted with grim humour: "I'll flog you—

"Sive tu mavis Bósanquet vocari,
Sive Bosánquet."

Then there is the famous story of the candidates for confirmation, whose names were sent up to the Head Master on a long, narrow strip of paper resembling the "bill" usually used for flogging complaints. Keate sent for and flogged them all, being made all the more furious by the excuse tendered him, which he considered irreverent as well as false.

There is another well-authenticated story of vicarious sacrifice which an eye-witness thus relates: "It is perfectly true that on one occasion Keate found a name down with no culprit to answer to it; but looking round on the attendants he saw one of his usual clients of the correct name and called on him to come forward. The client protested that he was not in the bill, it was his brother. Whether Keate did not believe him, or whether he would not be defrauded of his Voules and so make his list imperfect, is uncertain; he insisted, and giving him a playful tap on the shoulder with the bushy end of the rod, brought him to a right sense of the case."

Both these last two stories illustrate one defect in Keate's method of dealing with boys; he never trusted them or believed their word, and in consequence, of course, they lied to him. The late Lord Blachford once said that Keate

exacted a certain amount of lying as a mark of proper respect, and if that be a humorous exaggeration he certainly treated anyone brought before him rather in the manner of a French *juge d'instruction* to a prisoner.

Further, there was a mass of absurd fictions and traditional deceptions observed as between boys and Masters, which did not make for truth of intercourse. Thus boys coming to absence splashed with mud from running with the beagles were expected to say that they had been playing football, because that was lawful, while the other was unlawful, though winked at. So the Terrace at Windsor and the river were in bounds, but the whole of Eton Street beyond Barnes Pool Bridge was out of bounds, and if a boy met a Master or a Sixth form, unless the latter had given him his "liberties," he had to "shirk" him—that is, dive into the nearest shop and pretend that he neither saw nor was seen. The tradesmen of Eton and Windsor were of course as a general rule only too pleased to help a boy to "shirk." But a curious story is told of the punishment meted out to Fox, a Windsor hairdresser, for betraying six or seven boys who had taken refuge in his shop, on the occasion of a visit of Keate to Windsor Fair. Windsor Fair was strictly forbidden, and to be caught there meant a flogging; therefore it need hardly be said that every boy in the school considered it a point of honour to go, whether to visit the menagerie and the shooting galleries, to buy gingerbread or crackers, or to indulge in the pleasures of roulette or other gambling. It need hardly be said that it was a point of honour also among the Masters not to stop boys going by acting sentinel at Windsor Bridge; it was only considered just to complain of any boy actually found at the Fair. On one occasion Keate was visiting the Fair, and as the rumour of his coming of course preceded him, by the time he had arrived every boy was hidden. Six or seven had at Fox's invitation taken refuge behind his shop counter, and Fox, thinking to curry favour with the Head Master, invited

him also in to find them. Keate, disgusted with the man, peered over the counter and, seeing the boys, said quite quietly, in a voice plainly portending no flogging, "Boys, boys, get up out of that; you must go down to College." Out they all filed, and Keate departed. This was "after twelve"; by "after four" the whole school knew of it, and almost all proceeded to take vengeance on Fox. His window panes and pomatum pots and wax figures were all smashed with stones, fireballs, and other missiles, and the man pursued with shouts of "Tally-ho" all down Thames Street. In five o'clock school that evening the victim in a state of frenzy burst into Upper School demanding justice; but he did not remain long, the amazed Keate sharply exclaiming, "Præpostor! Præpostor! who is that man? Turn him out! Turn him out! Turn him out directly! Impertinent fellow! Most insolent of him!" And Fox was promptly hustled out. However, he subsequently waited on Keate at his house, who listened to his tale of woe and told him he should have known better than to inform against the boys whom he had invited in, and if he touched one he touched all. Besides, if he insisted on pressing the matter, he must go to the Provost, who was the head of the College. But Dr. Goodall was equally hard-hearted. "Eton boys at the Fair! Impossible. They know that it is strictly forbidden." Besides, it was the Head Master's province to deal with the boys. Thus sent from pillar to post, Fox went to a London attorney, who said something might be done if he could furnish the names of two or three. Fox, of course, knew no names, but he picked three or four names at random out of a school list, all of whom, unfortunately for Fox, were able to prove *alibis*, and thus even the consolations of the law were denied him.

The *ne plus ultra* of shirking was attained, says Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, by the boy who, found eating an ice in a shop by a Master, shut one eye, and held up his ice-spoon in front of the other. It should, however, be observed that

the custom of "shirking," in origin, may quite likely have nothing to do with Eton and Windsor being out of bounds, but be merely a mark of respect for authority. Mr. Rashdall, in his *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, quotes a statute of 1532 of the University of Glasgow forbidding students "rashly and immodestly to meet the Rector, Dean, or Regent openly in the streets," and enjoins them on pain of whipping immediately they are observed to withdraw themselves and flee as far as they conveniently can; and further illustrates from the statutes of the Church of Lyons in the twelfth century, which prescribed "shirking" to the *stericuli* if they met a Canon, and if they could not run away they were to pretend they were not there by holding their hands in front of their faces. That it was a mark of respect for authority seems confirmed by the attitude of the Assistant Masters with regard to Sixth form præpostors shirking them at the time of the troubles preceding the rebellion of 1768.

A similar absurd convention was observed every year, before the Fourth of June, when Keate would announce in Upper School that "lock-up" would on that day be extended for the Oppidans from 8.45 p.m. to 10 p.m.; he could not see why, but he supposed there was a cricket match going on, or something of that sort, though he knew, of course, perfectly well of the procession of boats and fire-works, which he would not sanction, and pretended to ignore; and that though he had already discussed all the arrangements with the Captain of the Oppidans, ignoring, it is true, the existence of the Captain of the Boats.

Provost Goodall used to say: "I wonder why Mrs. Goodall always dines early on the Fourth of June, and orders her carriage at six." And Keate, who in 1831 excused himself from accompanying the King to witness the procession of boats on the ground that he did not know there was such a thing, used also to dine at five on the Fourth, and chaff

Mrs. Keate and her guests when they started for the Brocas, saying he supposed that they were going to the donkey races on Dorney Common.

To return, however, to Keate's floggings. There is a sort of impression abroad that every Etonian of that day came sooner or later under the rod, or, as the author of *Etoniana* puts it, that "he flogged half the ministers, bishops, generals, and dukes of the present century." One of his pupils characterizes this idea as a great mistake, and commenting on this passage says: "It seems to suppose, or nearly so, that everyone who went to Eton was flogged. There were scores on scores in my time who passed through without the most distant approach to the rod. Taken as a rule, the victims were for the most part a clique of ne'er-do-weels, mostly from the Fourth form and Remove, who cared nothing for the punishment, and were insensible to the disgrace. Twice in the day was common; and I remember Keate sending away a boy with a wave of the rod, unwhipped, who had come up for the third time."

Probably enough the idea is fostered by the wholesale character of two of his executions. On one of these occasions he devoted seventy-two, on the other over eighty to the block at once. The occasion of the former was as follows:—On Mondays in a regular week, unbroken by Saint's Day holidays, the Sixth and Fifth forms had to show up at five o'clock school a four-line Latin epigram on some theme set at three o'clock school. Each boy as he went into school threw his epigram into a heap beside one of the Masters in desk, who took them home, and as a general rule they were never heard of again, and it was understood that they were never looked at, except to see that each boy liable had contributed. The result, of course, was that two or three clever boys did epigrams, and the rest copied them with such slight alterations as their native ingenuity could suggest. One day it occurred to the Master

carrying them home to look at them, and finding seventy-two epigrams and only three or four authors, he laid the matter before Keate. To separate the authors from the copyists was impossible, and Keate flogged the seventy-two, to the great joy of the Lower boys, who assembled in crowds to see the execution.

One of the spectators says: "It was hard for the poets to find themselves under sentence for having done their epigrams. But five went on after five in the gentlest of fives, and the whole matter, in point of fact, was looked upon as a gigantic joke; and I am very much mistaken if Keate did not himself look on it in much the same light."

The other occasion, however, was a much more serious affair, which began as follows:—A boy named William Munro, who afterwards commanded the 39th at Sebastopol, had been set a punishment for talking in school, and instead of doing it at the right time, went to see a boat race. Keate sentenced him to be flogged, but he refused to submit, and naturally the Head Master had no alternative but to request the boy's father to remove him. Munro was very popular, and when at the next absence his name was omitted from the list, the boys in that part of the school shouted out his name and "booed." Keate threatened if this were done again to lay on an extra absence, and carried out his threat, on a repetition of this conduct, by ordering all boys in the Middle and Lower Fifth form to answer to their names at three additional absences at 1, 7.15, and 8 p.m. on all holidays and half-holidays until further notice. Apparently for a short time the order was obeyed, but taking courage from their numbers, about a hundred boys agreed to shirk the 7.15 absence, and to refuse to be flogged if summoned to the block. At the appointed hour one small boy only was peeping out of the door of Lower Chamber; him Keate seized by the collar and shook in his shoes.

It was obvious that the resistance was organized, and that

to send away about a fifth of the school was too serious a matter. The Head Master acted with vigour and promptitude; he sent for all his Assistant Masters to meet him in Chambers directly after lock-up at 8.45. As one of the victims on this occasion says, "Keate had not learnt Latin for nothing. *Divide et impera* was a useful motto in present circumstances." And no sooner were the boys in the different houses in bed, than their respective tutors appeared and carried them off in batches to the Head Master to explain their conduct.

It was a dark night, and the only light in School Yard was a single lamp over the door of Keate's chambers, and in the dim light various parties of boys, under their tutors' care, might be seen standing in absolute silence under the different arches of the colonnade under Upper School. The late Rev. C. A. Wilkinson, who was the Sixth form præpostor on the occasion, relates the scene in the Library. The two first culprits when ordered to kneel down distinctly refused, and were told they would be expelled the next day. "The next batch of three demurred to the call of 'kneel down' not so resolutely; Keate's quick eye evidently saw their want of decision, and he raised his voice and rod accordingly, and the first timid little fellow was well flogged, and the other two also, after some very slight resistance." It was in vain that the two boys, who had refused to submit, shouted from the windows of Knapp's house, where they boarded, "Don't be flogged. We haven't been flogged." The more they shouted the more Keate stormed and met any demur with a cut on the head with a birch, until at last, with the exception of the first two, and twenty-one who pleaded successfully that they did not know of the absence, the tale was complete; the incipient rebellion was at an end, and Keate was master of the situation. The next morning the two were had up before the whole school, and seeing no point in being solitary victims, submitted, and were flogged

and "turned down" to a lower form. Keate's courage met with the meed it deserved from the school, for as he crossed the Long Walk on the following Monday morning he was loudly cheered, even by many of the victims, who had come to see how foolish they had been.

A much more serious matter was the attempted rebellion some years before this, in 1818, and Keate's treatment of it deserves, except perhaps in one particular, the highest commendation. It began in an alteration of the hour of lock-up, from six o'clock to five, in the autumn of this year, with the object of stopping the tandem-driving, hunting, and other unlicensed sports that still went on. A boy named Marriott, who, though only in the Remove, was a great whip, was expelled privately, and the expulsion was much resented by his friends as harsh and unjust, though Marriott himself seemed to think he had only his deserts. The feeling of exasperation throughout the school grew to a head the next Sunday at "Prose." It should be explained what "Prose" was. Every Sunday at two o'clock all boys of the Upper School assembled in that room, and Keate read out some of Blair's sermons, gave out the Latin theme for the week, and announced what holidays there would be. It is possible that it took its origin, as we said before in speaking of it as it existed under Dr. Foster, in an ordinance of Provost Rous. Keate would never allow it to be called "Prose." His reported saying on the subject is, "Prose, sir, Prose? I don't know anything about Prose. I suppose you mean Prayers." However that may be, it was always a scene of great disorder; Keate and two Sixth form præpostors were powerless to cope successfully with so many noisy boys, and they interrupted Blair, and stamped and cheered at every holiday announced, until the noise was so great as to attract the attention of passers-by in the street.

On this particular Sunday Keate was interrupted by shouts of "Where's Marriott," but he read steadily on,

without apparently noticing anything, and left his desk outwardly calm. During the next day or two the disquiet was considerable, the whole school took to assembling in play-hours in the Long Walk and its neighbourhood, and at last someone put a match to the flame by throwing a stone through a window of Green's house opposite. In half an hour not a pane of glass was left unbroken; the Sixth form looked passively on, and neither Keate nor any other Master came on the scene. The next day the Masters passed into school quietly, and work went on as usual, except that there was not a single flogging during the week; the only notice taken of affairs by the authorities was that some tutors, not very wisely, tried to get their pupils to sign a paper, saying that they had not had, and would not have, anything to do with any rebellion, which was pretty generally declined.

The ringleaders felt that they must justify their existence, and on the Friday night three Oppidans and two Collegers resolved on a plan to be carried out the next morning. At ten o'clock, when everybody was at breakfast, the five marched into Upper School with a sledge hammer concealed under one of the gowns, and smashed flat Keate's desk at the upper end.

At eleven o'clock school Keate came in, mounted the platform, called up the Sixth to construe as usual without betraying in the slightest degree that he saw anything extraordinary, put on a few of the Fifth, and brought the lesson to an end. Later in the day the whole school was summoned by the præpostor to meet in Upper School after afternoon chapel. There stood Keate on the ruins of his desk, while the whole staff of Masters lined the sides of the room. Keate then proceeded to give a firm, measured address, not the least in anger, dwelling on the folly of supposing that real or imaginary grievances could be remedied by revolution. He then called on the five heroes, who had unknown to themselves been observed by Cartland, Keate's servant, to stand

Stratford Canning

Percy Bysshe Shelley

Edward Geoffrey S. Stanley

Arthur Henry Hallam

Swinburne. Algernon Charles

SIGNATURES OF DISTINGUISHED ETONIANS

FROM THE HEAD MASTERS' ENTRY BOOKS

Guy Fawkes' day was always a day of great disorders, even down to Hawtrey's time celebrated by bonfires and fireworks.

In 1804 a boy named James Voght Grieve, whose father was private physician to the Czar, was killed by the explosion of a pocketful of fireworks. Another boy, Lord Cranborne, afterwards Marquis of Salisbury, discharged a squib at him, which set the fireworks in his pocket alight, and he was so dreadfully burnt as to die shortly afterwards.

On November 6th, 1812, Lord Sunderland, who had amused himself by letting off fireworks on Keate's front lawn on the previous evening, was expelled. As the historian says: "Within five minutes of the assembling of the Upper Division at eleven o'clock, the heir of the dukedom had full liberty to play with fireworks in any part of the United Kingdom, Eton excepted." Hawtrey took an even more severe measure in his early years as Head Master by expelling the late William Spottiswoode, destined afterwards to be President of the Royal Society, and another Lower boy, for being found with squibs in their pockets after fireworks had been forbidden; the "rashest act of Hawtrey's whole life," one of his Assistants calls it.

The illegitimate amusements died hard. As late as 1821 tandem-driving was still indulged in, though the livery stable-keepers were getting unwilling to supply the teams. A year or two later a big boy, disguised with false moustache and whiskers, drove a tandem belonging to an officer in the Blues, who had lately left the school, through College just as the Masters were going to Chambers before eleven o'clock school. The part of a tiger in livery was played by another boy, and the pair carried off the enterprise without being discovered. Another favourite amusement with the more daring spirits was to steal out of the boarding-houses at night, either to go up town to the White Hart, or the Christopher, or for poaching expeditions. Sir Henry

Maxwell Lyte tells the following delightful story in this connection: "'Is all right?' enquired the future Lord Kesteven, as he was preparing to descend from his window one dark evening to meet a friend. 'Right as my left leg,' answered a voice from below, and the boy dropped into the arms of Ben Drury." Lord Malmesbury tells another story of a mishap that befell him in the same way: "I used to steal out early in the morning to shoot moorhens up the river, borrowing an old flint honeycombed gun from a cad named Hall. On one of these occasions, in climbing over the spikes on our garden wall, I slipped, and was impaled by the arm till my shouts brought assistance, and the pain I suffered long afterwards was allowed by the authorities to be sufficient punishment."

Dog-fighting, badger-baiting, rat-catching, cock-fighting, could all be enjoyed in Bachelor's Acre or on the Brocas, and the "cads" who haunted the Wall varied the more legitimate trade of "sock" vending with the purveying of these questionable amusements, and the encouragement of every sort of wickedness. Why they were tolerated so long, except on the same principle that it was suggested that the Christopher should not be abolished, namely, to teach resistance to temptation, is impossible to say. The Rev. C. A. Wilkinson tells the story of one boy complained of to Keate for keeping his own badger in his room. "Keate shouldered his birch and harangued the criminal while the 'taking-down' was carried on. 'His conduct was disgraceful, he shirked his tutor, he got up no lessons for school, he had been seen carrying his own badger-bag on the Brocas, and another day actually going up town with his cock under his arm; if he did not mend his ways he would live unrespected and die unregretted, and—and—give me another birch. I have no opinion of a boy who keeps a badger.'"

Badger-hunting and bull-baiting are openly alluded to in *The Etonian*, as well as riding and driving. And in the

Kaleidoscope, a school magazine of 1833, the athletic hero of the day is thus described :—

> "But favoured by the mighty Queen of Heav'n,
> His thoughts, his soul, his all to sport was given ;
> For cricket, boating, beagles, racings, rows,
> For gigs, for tandems—Juno all allows—
> For these his very heart-blood only beats,
> For these he pants, the Etonian's glorious feats."

The rows here alluded to were probably with the bargees, or other "cads." Archdeacon Denison records one occasion, which made a great impression on him as a small boy ; when Bishop Chapman, then Captain of the School, at the head of the Upper boys, made a stand on Barnes Pool Bridge against a mob of bargees, who were incensed against some particular boy, and came down the street vowing they would have him and throw him over the bridge :—

"Chapman stood in the middle of the bridge at the head of the boys ; a stout, short boy, with his fists ready at his side. When the bargees came close and demanded the boy, swearing they would have him, come what might, the only words that Chapman spoke were, 'You 'd better not try.' The bargees looked at the boys, and the boys looked at the bargees ; the bargees began to waver, the boys stood fast. No rush was made, no blow struck. The enemy fell back slowly by twos and threes, and the boys remained masters of the bridge."

CHAPTER XVI.

KEATE'S TIME CONTINUED—THE ETON SOCIETY—MR. GLADSTONE—"THE ETONIAN" AND ITS FORERUNNERS—BOYS' DRESS—FIGHTS—DEATH OF FRANCIS ASHLEY.

KEATE was, as we have said, a fine scholar, and for the Sixth form in Library he would pour forth the treasures of his learning. Like his successor of to-day, he was very fond of illustrating his text by parallel passages from other authors; and in time the Horace interleaved with notes became a valued legacy from Sixth form to Sixth form. He continued, however, to attempt the impossible feat of teaching the whole Upper Fifth and Sixth forms together in Upper School. With a Division of something like 170 boys, even when assisted by the Sixth form præpostors, to keep strict order was out of the question. To take a rise out of Keate was a favourite amusement, especially at five o'clock school in winter evenings, when the dim lights of candles barely illuminated the benches of Upper School, and enabled fights with bread pellets to go on, songs to be sung, and practical jokes to be perpetrated without the culprits being discovered. Keate fumed and tried to pounce on the misdoers, but usually in vain.

In spite of all the flogging stories and the rough manner, those who knew Keate best unite in saying that he was in reality of the kindliest disposition; if at times hot-tempered, he was neither unkind nor unjust. No one ever accused him of partiality, and the only passport to his favour was

industry and good conduct. He could be generous too. George Dallas, the eldest son of the first baronet, who died early, once threw a stone at Keate's head in school. All Keate did was to say, "I require to know who the individual was who threw that stone?" and on the boy standing up and saying, "It was I did it, sir, and I beg your pardon," he was forgiven on the spot.

Another anecdote that illustrates this side of his character is told in reference to Charles Fox Townshend. He "stayed out" one day for some illness, and received the usual request from Keate by the præpostor that he would write out and translate the lessons of the day; to which he returned the answer that he should do nothing of the kind. Keate's face grew red at the message, and he marched down to Rагueneau's parlour and summoned Townshend, who appeared in his dressing-gown. Keate immediately broke out into the usual loud torrent of invective. Townshend waited till the first stop, and then gently requested the Head Master not to talk so loud, as his nerves were weak, and it gave him a headache; if he had been equal to the school work he would not have stayed out. Wonderful to relate the wrathful Doctor calmed down, and ended by telling the boy to take care of himself. Perhaps he was then showing signs of the consumption that carried him off a few years later.

Townshend was the founder of one of the most perennial of Eton institutions, the Eton Society, commonly known now as "Pop." As far back as the boyish days of Lord Wellesley and Lord Grey, there had been a Debating Society at Eton, in which the members assumed the names and offices of the Parliament at St. Stephen's, and in the early years of this century there were several small societies which enjoyed a short life. The Eton Society, which was founded in 1811, though intended principally as a debating society, was always a social club also. One of its early features, besides its weekly debates, was its breakfast

EDWARD GEOFFREY, LORD DERBY

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, P.R.A., IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

held on the first whole holiday in the week, which every member was expected to attend. The club met in those days at "Mother" Hatton's, a "sock-shop" opposite the Long Walk, and from *popina*, the Latin word for such a shop, the best etymologists are agreed in deriving its vernacular name of "Pop." That this Latin derivation is not far-fetched is confirmed by the fact that in its earlier years the members were also known by a Latin name, the *Literati*. It was looked on with considerable favour by Keate, who had one standing joke in connection with it; this was, to always call up one of its members in Horace, Satire IX., who was expected to construe *docti sumus*, "we are of the Literati," and Keate would rejoin, "Yes, well; I wish more boys belonged to it." The original number of the society was twenty, a number soon raised to thirty. In 1816 it had sunk to fourteen, and was only saved from decease by energetic protests from C. F. Townshend and other old members at the Universities. At the present day it numbers twenty-eight. Keate, in spite of the society's remonstrances and their comments on his "arbitrary conduct," the record of which is preserved in the Journal, objected to political subjects less than fifty years old being discussed, and in consequence subjects such as the justifiableness of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, or other historical and literary questions were debated. These laws were, however, evaded by subterfuge. The historian says: "The Catholic question in these years was the burning one, and used to be smuggled in under many a transparent hypothesis; and many systems, laws, and governments in ancient times seemed to have pre-shadowed emancipation in a very remarkable degree—judging by the debates." The subjects for debate were always, as they are now, proposed in the form of a question, not of a motion; and perhaps in consequence the "Seconder" at Eton always means the person who speaks second in debate, and takes the opposite side from the "Opener." In its early days

it seems to have been usual to admit an audience of strangers, sometimes in the capacity of clerks at the table. They may be admitted now under certain restrictions, but the power is rarely put in force. For some years past the social side of "Pop" has overshadowed the literary, it being much more the hall-mark of athletic distinction or personal popularity than of the gifts of the intellect. Nevertheless, as late as 1885, certainly (the writer cannot speak with certainty since), debates though perfunctory on Mary Queen of Scots, waxed considerably warm over matters of modern politics. Occasionally illustrious strangers have taken part in the debates, as in 1884, when Canon Boyd Carpenter, afterwards Bishop of Ripon, by special invitation addressed the House.

The Rules were first printed in 1836, when Edward Balston, afterwards Head Master, was President, and Stafford Northcote, first Lord Iddesleigh, and Thomas Farrer, now Lord Farrer, were on the committee. To enumerate its members would be to mention many of the most distinguished men of this century, but among others Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone, Arthur Hallam, the late Lord Coleridge, the late Duke of Devonshire, Lord Rosebery, Sir Francis Doyle, the late Bishop of Oxford, were all members. Perhaps from a debating point of view its most flourishing days were those of Mr. Gladstone and Arthur Hallam. Mr. Gladstone was elected at the age of fifteen, on October 15th, 1825, with one black ball only; his maiden speech, in favour of the education of the poor being beneficial, was delivered a fortnight later. He and his contemporaries used to take considerable pains over their speeches, and some of them, says Sir F. H. Doyle, used to meet in Trotman's garden, on the Eton Wick Road, for additional debates. The speeches delivered by the youthful orators were, after the debate, all written out by the Vice-President, an office held in rotation by the members, in the Journals of the Society, which are in consequence, as may be easily imagined, of very considerable historic interest.

For myself, Sir, I think I have nearly come to a final determination; — (Laughter from the President) I will discontinue my speech till the Honble President has finished his laughter, & is ready to resume attention —

The President — I have done — The Hon. Gent. may resume —

The Vice President continued. — The facts, Sir, wh I have mentioned, appear to me conclusive, & conclusive in condemnatn of the political conduct of Mr Eton. But my sole & exclusive wish [illegible] there & every where Justice may be done; that any Hon. Member who may feel disposed to oppose me, may come forward & argue the question on clear, extended, & rational grounds, not branching off into republican rhapsodies, into vague declamations & endless theories. Whether it be to condemn or to applaud, let a verdict be given free from prejudice & free from passion. Far be it from me to [illegible]

PAGE OF JOURNAL OF ETON SOCIETY
PART OF SPEECH OF MR. GLADSTONE IN HIS WRITING

Mr. Gladstone's and those of his contemporaries are extremely elaborate and filled with quotations, and all the audience's exclamations of assent or dissent are carefully noted; a great contrast to the Journals of the last few years, where one never finds more than the Opener's and Seconder's speeches, and the House condescends to discuss such a question as "whether there is any law in the regulating colouring of birds' eggs," and decides by a majority of eleven to seven that it is not better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all.

Private Business in its great days was usually very lively; motions for fining members, especially in Mr. Gladstone's name, are very frequent. The following record of what took place at Private Business on February 18th, 1826, is amusing enough, and presents Arthur Hallam in a new light. The record is in Mr. Gladstone's handwriting:—

"Mr. *Pickering mi.* brought forward a motion for fining Mr. *Hallam* for throwing a piece of orange against the wall, and staining it. (Many Members ran instantly to the place to ascertain the extent of the damage done. Order! Order!) Mr. *Hallam* said that he had thrown the orange not at the wall, but at the head of Mr. *Pickering mi.*, and that the missile would have taken effect there had not the Honourable Member thought proper to remove his head. He also said that he believed Mr. Pickering mi. had been the aggressor.

"Mr. *Pickering mi.* replied. Mr. *Hervey* thought that both deserved the fine, though it could not be inflicted on them.

"Mr. *Patteson* and Mr. *Gladstone* opposed Mr. *Pickering mi.'s* motion on the ground of Mr. *Hallam's* having thrown the orange in self-defence.

"The motion was put and negatived by a majority of one."

The *fac-simile* on the opposite page is from a speech of Mr. Gladstone's in opening a debate on October 14th, 1826, and is in his own handwriting. The question was: "Was the political conduct of Milton deserving of praise?" And the Opener answered it emphatically in the negative.

The influence of the Eton Society on the boys of that generation who belonged to it seems almost incredible to the present generation, but it is well attested. Sir Francis Doyle says of it: "We rubbed our wits together, and sharpened them by the friction, and though being an Etonian from 1822 to 1827, I have naturally considered the verb ἵημι and its compounds as personal enemies through life. I still rejoice that I was (I narrowly escaped adding educated) at Eton, in company with Hallam, Gladstone, Selwyn, Lord Arthur Hervey, Lord Elgin, Lord Canning, Lord Blachford, and others, rather than at Shrewsbury or Winchester; though at either of the above places I should no doubt have had an opportunity of cultivating, on closer terms, the acquaintance of Bentley, Dawes, Porson, Herman, Elmsley, etc. I have already named the principal members of our Debating Club, and anyone will be able to see for himself that they were a very strong lot. There were several others of almost equal ability, though less known to fame, and these together constituted a society, to belong to which was a high privilege and a great advantage. In fact, so far as we were concerned, it actually turned our Eton into a good school, though not, of course, into a good school exactly of the orthodox type."

Charles Milne Gaskell, one of this brilliant coterie and a friend beloved of Arthur Hallam and Mr. Gladstone, has left on record, in a letter to his mother, his boyish estimate of Mr. Gladstone, and it is so entirely in accordance with the character of the Gladstone of later days that the temptation to quote it is irresistible: "Gladstone is no ordinary individual, and, perhaps, were I called on to select the individual I am intimate with, to whom I should first turn in an emergency, and whom I thought in every way pre-eminently distinguished for high principle, I think I should turn to Gladstone."

While Arthur Hallam, writing to his friend, says of Gladstone: "Whatever may be our lot, I am confident *he*

is a bud that will bloom with a richer fragrance than almost any whose early promise I have witnessed."

The last time that Mr. Gladstone spoke in the Society was on December 1st, 1827, in returning answer to a vote of thanks, and the report is as follows :—

> "Mr. *Gladstone* then rose. He said that words were inadequate to express his sincere and fervent gratitude for this distinguished honour; he was well aware that it was to their partiality he owed these eulogiums—(cries of No! No!)—so ill-suited to his humble efforts, and to the kindness which the hon. gent. who spoke last, and the rest of his hon. friends, entertained towards him. He had but one sentiment and one wish; when he looked back upon the happy years he had spent, upon the time when he was first enrolled as a humble and unworthy member of this Society, he could not but look upon that event with unalloyed pleasure and delight. (Hear.) He could not but look with pride upon that institution which had so successfully struggled against prejudice and opposition; he recollected it as low in spirit as in numbers, and even on the verge of dissolution. (Cheers.) And it was with unfeigned and heartfelt pleasure that he beheld it supported not only by numbers, but by excellency, zeal, and ability. His only wish was that as long as Eton continues to occupy that proud and prominent position which she does now, that this institution may be associated as her companion and a sharer in her legitimate and deserved honours. [The Honble. Gent. sat down amidst IMMENSE cheering.]"

Somewhere about 1830 the Eton Society experienced for a short time the wholesome effect of a little opposition. There was a strong party of boys who thought that 25, the then numbers of "Pop," were too few, and in consequence founded a rival society called "The Eton Junta," which used to meet in a room up town. The best known of its members were the present Bishop Ryle of Liverpool, Edward Balston, afterwards Head Master, and "Judy" Durnford. But its existence was short; its founders had omitted to obtain Keate's sanction to their scheme, and further, he considered that some of the questions they discussed were objectionable, and the "Junta" was suppressed, in spite of a formal petition drawn up by

A. J. Ellis and signed by twenty other members. Most of the members were shortly afterwards absorbed into the old Society, and in the opinion of one of them Keate acted in the matter with common-sense and wisdom. Four of the members were afterwards concerned in the production of *The Kaleidoscope*, a magazine of 1833.

Nearly every House nowadays has its Debating Society. In the nature of things, as Houses lose their individuality with the disappearance of the Masters who keep them, such cannot be as permanent as College Debating Society bids fair to be. College "Pop" has flourished, since it was founded in 1855, chiefly by the exertions of F. A. Bosanquet and J. G. Witt, both now Queen's Counsel, and its MS. journals extend now to twenty-two volumes.

The year 1898 has seen the foundation of a School Debating Society on a rather more democratic basis than "Pop," and as a Debating Society pure and simple, and not combined with a social club. Whether "Pop" will end by becoming a club only remains to be seen; but in any case it is remarkable that it should have gone on for 87 years, founded, conducted, and managed entirely by boys, and its continued existence forms another tribute to the success with which Eton teaches the lessons of self-reliance and self-government.

Intellectual ambitions found other fields to conquer in literary production. About 1818 there were several manuscript magazines in existence. There seem to have been four, the productions of Collegers, *The Linger*,* *The Linger Lion*, *Horae Otiosae*, and *The College Magazine*, and of the two last John Moultrie was the moving spirit.

The *College Magazine* took to itself considerable credit for having checked the career of the first named of these magazines, saying at the conclusion of its labours :—

> "And now there's nothing you can cast your eye on
> Half so disgusting as the 'Linger Lion.'"

* *i.e.*, Colleger.

And in taking farewell of its readers:—

> "Yet much we fear that when our pages rest
> In the drear mansion of the mighty dead,
> College will be afflicted with a nest
> Of prying scribblers reigning in our stead.
> Again '*the Linger*' will the school infest,
> And the gaunt '*Lion*' rear his shaggy head;
> And soon there'll be an end of all propriety,
> And all be filth and nonsense and impiety."

Another manuscript magazine, the *Apis Matina*, was the work of an Oppidan, Winthrop Mackworth Praed, and there appears to have been another Oppidan magazine of a poor character. The original *Apis Matina* is now in the Boys' Library; it was presented by Sir George Young and his sister, Mrs. Purnell, two of Praed's descendants, in 1895.

In 1819 Walter Blunt, a Colleger, collected some of the poems from the *Horae Otiosae* and the *College Magazine*, and they were printed privately by Charles Knight, in a volume entitled *Poetry of the College Magazine*.

In May, 1820, a weekly paper known as *The Salt-bearer*, and printed in London, appeared for the first time, and extended to thirty-three numbers, the last appearing in April, 1821. It purported to be written by Benjamin Bookworm, Esq., and consisted principally of miscellaneous essays in polite literature, and dialogues between famous Etonians, after the manner of Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead*. Who the real author or authors were has never been discovered: in the British Museum copy the authorship is doubtfully attributed to Helps, which could not be Sir Arthur, but might be Thomas William Helps, who was in the Middle Fifth in 1820.

In the first number of *The Etonian* there is a good deal of fun at the expense of Mr. Benjamin Bookworm and his production, in the course of which the latter is said to be "calculated to bring disgrace upon the school collectively, and upon each of us individually."

The Colleger and Oppidan forces that had been engaged over these manuscript magazines joined together for the purpose of showing that they could do something better than *The Salt-bearer*, and together they brought out *The Etonian*, the most remarkable of all school magazines. Reading it through at the present day, it is almost incredible that it was the production of school-boys, for it shows a mastery of language, a wit, and a poetic fancy that are not common in mature years. Moultrie never wrote better poetry during his long life than he did as an Eton boy; *My Brother's Grave* and *The Hall of my Fathers* testify to that. Praed's work, too, was brilliant in the extreme, both in prose and verse. He and Walter Blunt acted as editors, and he contributed far more than any other of the youthful authors. The magazine purported to be the work of a club, under the presidency of Peregrine Courtenay, King of Clubs, and each number opens with an account of its supposed proceedings and conversation, written in an easy, rollicking vein that carries one along. A great deal of punch and bishop is discussed at the club meetings, as doubtless in actual fact there was at the various meetings of "cons" or friends and coteries at the Christopher. Most of these descriptions of the club meetings were written by Praed, and he also contributed a good deal of verse, of which it will suffice to mention *Surly Hall* and *Laura*. The other principal contributors were William Sidney Walker, Henry Nelson Coleridge, and Richard Durnford, the late Bishop of Chichester. The first number was published in October, 1820, and it continued to appear monthly till July, 1821. Dr. Hawtrey, then an Assistant Master, took great interest in the production, and it was he who suggested its name. In June, 1821, appeared *The Student*, a monthly publication by Solomon Sap, Esq., of the College of Eton, who announces on his first page that "The Editor of *The Salt-bearer* having brought his labours to a conclusion, he hoped

ARTHUR HENRY HALLAM

FROM THE PORTRAIT IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

it would not be presumptuous on his part in endeavouring to gain some small portion of fame among his fellow-Collegers by commencing another work of similar nature." His endeavours were, however, without much effect, for the first number was all that was ever published, and, "in the opinion of competent judges, quite enough." No copy of it is now known to be in existence.

It was not till 1827 that another periodical, *The Eton Miscellany*, appeared, and that is rather remarkable for the distinguished men who assisted in its production than for its intrinsic worth. But a periodical which numbered among its contributors Mr. Gladstone, Arthur Hallam, George Augustus Selwyn, afterwards Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, Sir Francis H. Doyle, Dr. Jelf, and Lord Blachford cannot be passed over in silence. In the light of recent events perhaps the contribution in it of greatest interest is Mr. Gladstone's poem on *Westminster Abbey*. It was written, of course, in view of Canning's death, but line after line of it applies now with affecting closeness to its writer.

Since then there have been countless successors, more or less short-lived. The only one that seems now as permanent as *The Times* is the *Eton College Chronicle*, which does not aspire to be more than a chronicle of sports and events, and an occasional repository of news from Etonians in distant lands, and of the complaints and pet schemes of its numerous correspondents. It was started, in 1863, by W. Wightman Wood, J. E. Tinné, A. Pochin, and N. Sherbrooke as a fortnightly publication; but it has now attained the dignity of a weekly paper, with occasionally an extra number if events crowd too fast.

In connection with *The Etonian* mention was made of William Sidney Walker, and perhaps something more should be said of him. A precocious genius, with many of the ills that afflict genius—slovenly, unkempt, awkward, and absent-minded—he suffered much at Eton from the

bullying which he endured from "ill-used authority and ill-used strength." Probably enough he would have been unhappy anywhere, but Long Chamber was not a fortunate surrounding for him. The feats of memory recorded of him are like those recorded of Porson. He could repeat Homer, Horace, and Virgil by heart; and on one occasion he was called up by Keate to construe Homer, having a Shakespeare in his hand. Walker construed on line by line, answering questions and parsing correctly, until in one line he read some small particle wrong. Keate "pricked up his ears and asked for the book to see the edition, and was astonished to find a Shakespeare." However, he let Walker finish as he had begun, really rather pleased with his scholar, as well he might be.

To Praed the school is indebted for the first school library. His original idea was a library for the Eton Society; but he enlarged his plan on the advice of his elder brother William, who had recently left. He got Keate to take an interest in it and subscribe towards its expenses, and he had beside the hearty sympathy and help of Hawtrey, who in after years did so much for it, when it found a home in the New Buildings.

There were to be one hundred subscribers, the senior boys having the option of subscribing first. For the first year of its establishment the subscription was to be a guinea and a half, and subsequently a guinea annually. It was to consist of classics, history, etc., and it was situated over Williams', the College bookseller's shop. In 1821 George IV. presented it with a large paper set of the Delphin classics, on the suggestion of Charles Sumner, then librarian at Carlton House; they have been since described more truthfully than politely as "the useless gift of a royal rake."

That there are quite enough holidays nowadays at Eton is an opinion that is sometimes aired; but they are nothing

to the holidays that were enjoyed in the early years of this century. In a regular or "wholesome four-exercise" week Tuesday was a whole holiday, Thursday a half-holiday, and Saturday a play-at-four. The irregular weeks had three exercises—theme, verses, and lyrics only; Saints' days were holidays, and their eves half-holidays; the only abridgment of a whole holiday was attending Chapel. At Whitsuntide there was no work to be done between noon on Saturday and repetition on Wednesday morning. Nowadays Whitsun Tuesday alone is a holiday; and the fact that the Monday is a whole school day seems annually to cause considerable perplexity in the minds of the authorities as to its position in the Church's calendar; and the grotesque spectacle may be not infrequently seen in Chapel of some keeping it as a "surplice" day, some ignoring it. Furthermore, up to the Peace of Paris, in 1814, the Peninsular victories were a great source of holidays, usually accompanied with leave to stay out till ten or half-past to see the illuminations in Windsor. Long Chamber and the Masters' Houses would be patriotically illuminated with rows of dips in the windows. The Peace of Paris added a week to the summer holidays of 1814. Praed, in a letter in *The Etonian* addressed to George IV., describes the visit of the boys to Frogmore to see the allied sovereigns, Blucher, and Platoff, and sundry other worthies:—

"Never shall I forget the soul-enlivening moment when Your Majesty, stepping into the midst of our obstreperous group, proclaimed aloud: 'A whole holiday for the Emperor of Russia.' (*Cheering.*) 'A whole holiday for the King of Prussia.' (*Renewed Cheering.*) 'Now, my boys,' you said, with a good-humoured laugh that set whiggism and awe at defiance, 'I must add my mite'; and there was long, loud, reiterated, unanimous, heartfelt cheering. . . . It was a proud evening for Eton, but a troublesome one for those who made it so. The warmth of an English welcome is enough to overpower anyone but an Englishman. Platoff swore he was more pestered by the Etonians than he had

S

ever been by the French; and the kind old Blucher had his hand so cordially wrung that he was unable to lift his bottle for a week afterwards."

But all England and not Etonians alone had gone wild over the peace, and Blucher's and the others' hands were always being pressed by some enthusiast. The King of Prussia on this occasion is said to have gone up to Mrs. Keate, who was celebrated for her beauty, and kissed her, making excuse that she was so like his Queen. After Waterloo the rejoicings, damped by the escape of Napoleon from Elba, broke out with greater wildness than before. Whole holidays in abundance, another extra week, dinners to the soldiers, and illuminations in Windsor, marked the general joy; and there was all the soul-stirring excitement of hearing at first hand of the great fights of the campaign from the returning guardsmen and officers who but a few short months before had been Eton boys themselves.

Dress in those days was much less funereal and less uniform than at the present day. When H. J. C. Blake went to Eton in 1799, at the age of eight, it was in a blue coat with red collar, and a blue coat seems to have been the favourite wear. A blue coat, white waistcoat, ruffled shirt, and long hair was the ordinary costume at the end of the last century, as is shown by the reproduction of a miniature of George Daniel Harvey, K.S., on opposite page. Before 1815 trousers had begun to come into use, especially the white ducks, jean and nankeen pantaloons that were then fashionable; but the wearing of these was forbidden to Collegers long after the Oppidans all wore them. The Collegers were all compelled to wear breeches tied with strings, and fastened with gilt buttons at the knee. This regulation was relaxed little by little; Collegers used to take to wearing trousers, and tucking them up at "absence" to look like shorts, and finally the law was tacitly abolished. Oppidans, however, were not altogether free from restrictions;

GEORGE DANIEL HARVEY, K.S.
FROM A MINIATURE IN THE POSSESSION OF
THE REVD. C. WIGAN HARVEY

SHOWING THE DRESS OF AN ETON BOY CIRCA 1785

they might wear kerseymere shorts, but not the long kersey-mere gaiters which were their usual accompaniment. The breeches still survive as part of the full dress worn both by Collegers and Oppidans. See the picture of a group facing p. 342.

Overcoats and umbrellas were strictly forbidden as effeminacies. The story is told that Keate one day having denounced the use of umbrellas as fit only for school girls, some youthful wits abstracted from Upton a board inscribed "Seminary for Young Ladies," and fixed it up over the gateway of Upper School.

The costume at cricket, when, of course, pads and gloves were unknown, consisted of white jean jacket, if any was worn, and flannel, nankeen, or duck trousers on ordinary occasions; on match days shorts and silk stockings, with a second cotton sock rolled round the ankles for protection and ornament, and a coloured silk handkerchief or belt round the waist, was the fashionable garb. Boots were forbidden, and, in consequence, every boy thought it a point of honour to have a pair to go away in at the beginning of the holidays, and they were kept during the school time at the bootmakers' shops up town.

Archdeacon Denison records that during the years he and his brothers were at Eton, though sons of a country gentleman of considerable estate, their clothes always issued from the primitive shop of the village tailor at Ossington. "I was very happy," he says, "at Eton in spite of my clothes. There was one boy only, I remember, whose clothes were made by Stultz, and the boys used to follow him up and down with admiring eyes. He had a swallow-tailed bright blue coat, with gilt buttons, and other things conformable. By his side the contrast with the artistic developments of the Ossington tailor was very humbling."

No account of Keate's time would be complete without a word or two on the fights. When Lord Morley, who had then

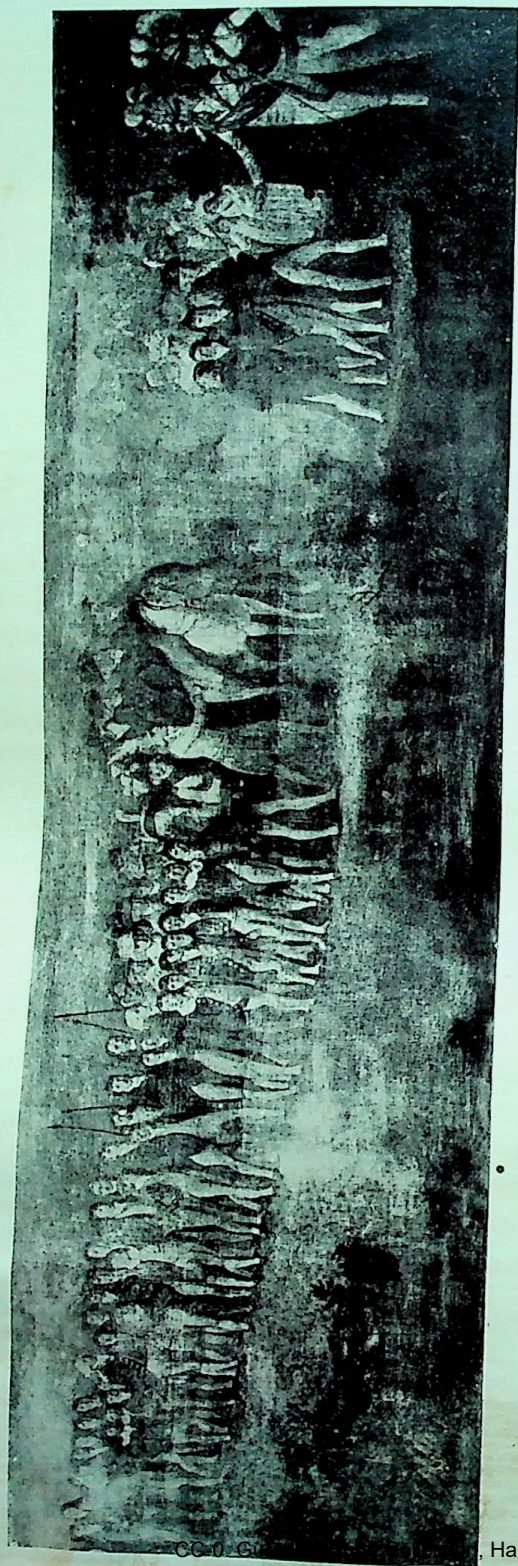
just left, was called as a witness before the Public Schools Commissioners in 1864, he said that Eton boys did not fight any longer, and when asked the reason, replied that he supposed it was "because they funked each other." A more likely explanation is to be found in the change of manners that has abolished the duel and made prize-fighting illegal. But before that change had taken place fights were frequent and severely contested. Fights between Collegers usually took place in Chamber at night, after permission duly obtained from the Captain; but the Oppidans' fighting ground was the corner of Lower Club under the stone in "good calx." The London coaches, as they came down the road from Slough, used to stop to let the passengers watch if there was a fight going on. After four, or preferably after six, for that gave from 6.30 to lock-up, were the usual times. Among the famous fights of this day were those between Lord Hillsborough, afterwards Marquis of Downshire, and Edwin Budd Rigby; J. C. G. Savile, subsequently Lord Mexborough, and Thos. Pellew Hoseason, afterwards an Indian cavalry officer; Thos. Sanders, a Colleger, and John Henry Pringle, afterwards in the Scots Fusiliers; and the famous Lord Waterford and Barrow. Savile is said between the rounds to have scorned his second's knee, and having rinsed his mouth with a few drops of water, to have strutted round the ring spouting Homer. The madcap Lord Waterford is reported to have eaten a raw beefsteak on the morning of his fight, having heard that it was a diet adopted by prize-fighters to make them hard, and thinking that the effect would be immediate. But the best-known fight of the time was that unfortunate one between a boy called Wood and Francis Ashley, brother of Lord Shaftesbury, in which Ashley lost his life. Lower-boy tradition at the present day still believes that the white stone in the wall of "good calx" was inserted to commemorate his death. This fight had lasted till nearly lock-up, and about sixty rounds had been fought when Ashley fell

senseless and was carried back to his tutor's. He died the same evening, and lies buried in the ante-Chapel. At the Coroner's inquest a verdict of manslaughter was returned against both Wood and Ashley's second, Alexander Wellesley Leith.

Sir Francis Doyle says of Keate's speech to the school on this occasion :—"Keate was thoroughly manly and right-hearted in the depths of his nature. I have seldom been more deeply moved than I was by the noble address, full of unshrinking courage and steadfastness, delivered by him to the school shortly after the sad accident. 'It is not,' he said, and said gallantly, 'that I object to fighting in itself; on the contrary, I like to see a boy who receives a blow return it at once, but that you, the heads of the school, should allow a contest to go on for two hours and a half has shocked and grieved me.' He then proceeded to express his sympathy with the bereaved parents in a strain of genuine because it was honest eloquence, and to urge upon us that for the future we should act in such cases with better judgment and under a deeper sense of responsibility. One and all, after listening to that speech, we trooped out of the Upper School with a thorough belief and confidence in Keate that Arnold himself might have envied."

In 1834 Keate determined to retire and end his days at Hartley Wespall, a College living in Hampshire. He had been Head Master for five-and-twenty years, and had well earned his repose, but it is probable enough that an attack on Eton and public schools in general in the *Edinburgh Review*, followed by a pamphlet war on both sides, had much to do with the actual time. Whatever might have been the feelings of the school when he assumed the reins, there was no doubt that he was loved and honoured when he resigned them to his successor. On his visits to Eton in after years he was always welcomed, and it is recorded that when on Election Saturday, 1840, he drove up to Surley with Edward Coleridge,

and was seen looking down upon the boats in Boveney Lock, the crews all stood up and cheered. One of his pupils, visiting him in his retirement, describes a side that was unknown to many:—"I called at Hartley not long ago, and on the grass in front of the house stood the old man with his coat off, surrounded by a parcel of happy children, boys and girls, playing baby-cricket. The first words I heard were, 'Mrs. Keate, that's not fair—petticoat before wicket.'"

At Hartley he lived, except for occasional residences as Canon at Windsor, until 1852, when he died at the age of seventy-nine, the most famous, in many ways the greatest, of Eton Head Masters.

THE MONTEM PROCESSION. CIRCA 1790

GEORGE III. AND THE ROYAL FAMILY ON HORSEBACK; THE KING GIVING SALT. ON THE RIGHT THE TWO SALT-BEARERS

FROM A PICTURE BY R. LIVÉSAY, FORMERLY AT STOKE PARK AND PRESENTED TO THE BOYS' LIBRARY BY THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

CHAPTER XVII.

MONTEM—ITS ORIGIN—ITS MODE OF CELEBRATION—ITS ABOLITION.

WE have left till now the consideration of Montem, because so curious and unique an institution deserves a chapter to itself. What the origin of it was it is hard to say. Brand's explanation that it is connected with the ceremonies of the Boy-bishop, which were once observed at Eton, and in fact enjoined by the statutes, seems quite unfounded. Malim's *Consuetudinarium* of 1560 speaks of the Boy-bishop as being no longer chosen; the custom had in fact been forbidden by proclamation of Henry VIII. in 1543. But the time of his election had been St. Hugh's day (November 13th), and he certainly would cease to hold office at the Feast of the Holy Innocents, whereas Malim describes the procession *Ad Montem* as taking place about the end of January. Mr. Maxwell Lyte's explanation that it was in origin a ceremony of initiation for new boys, like the penalties and bullying inflicted on the *bejaunus*, or freshman, at most Universities in the Middle Ages, seems much the most likely hypothesis. Certainly, from this earliest notice down to the last, there are traces of initiation ceremonies to be found.

The following is Malim's account of the proceedings in his day:—

"About the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, at nine o'clock on a certain day chosen by the Master, in the customary mode in which they go to pick nuts in September,

the boys go to the Mount. The Mount, in the boyish religion of Etonians, is a sacred place. On account of the beauty of the country, the loveliness of the turf, the coolness of the shade, the tuneful chorus of the birds, they make it a revered seat for Apollo and the Muses, and celebrate it in verses, call it Tempe, and set it above Helicon. Here the novices, or freshmen (*recentes*), who have not yet manfully and courageously stood up to stripes for a year in the Eton ranks, are first seasoned with salt, then excellently pourtrayed in verses, which are to have as much salt and wit as possible. Then they make epigrams on the freshmen, contending for the victory one against another with all sorts of pleasant, witty speech. Whatever comes into anyone's mouth he may freely give vent to, provided it be in Latin, provided it be not unkind, and provided it be without foul abuse of words; and lastly, they bedew their faces and cheeks with salt tears, and then at length are they initiated into the rites of the veterans. Ovations follow and little triumphs, and they rejoice earnestly both because their labours are finished and because of their reception into the society of such merry fellow-soldiers. When all this is over they return home at one o'clock, and after supper they play till eight o'clock."

Besides the rites of initiation here referred to, the use of salt and the military character of the procession should be noted as continuing to the last. Salt, of course, from the days of the Greeks, has always played a part in ceremonies of this kind, and is familiar enough as administered in beer or water to new boys in many schools. Till quite modern times a Colleger was obliged to drink a glass of salted beer in Hall shortly after his admission; and a glass of salt and water was the recognized penalty for refusal to sing a song at "Chamber Singing." "Chamber Singing" used to take place on the first Saturday night after October 11th, when fires began in College, and every new boy had to sing or suffer the penalty. In 1878, when the writer went into College, a good sip was

allowed to do duty for the whole glass, and the only boys who as a rule attended the "singing" were those of the last election, who had just escaped from fagging, and therefore especially anxious to show their superiority.

In earlier times evidently more emphasis was laid on the salt at Montem. The day seems to have been known as "Salting Day," it is so alluded to in Con O'Neil's bill; and J. Byrom, one of Aubrey's correspondents, writing in 1693 of the possible origin of the ceremony, directs his attention solely to the "custom of salting." He says that when he was a boy at the school the story, in which he had no confidence, was that the College held some lands by the custom, which is in all probability as ill-founded as the similar suggestion of Browne Willis as to the origin of Hunting the Ram. Byrom himself suggests two explanations, one that hinted at by Malim, that the salt typifies the "wit and knowledge by which boys dedicated to learning ought to distinguish themselves"; the other, that it "alludes to that saying of our Saviour to His disciples, '*ye are the salt of the earth*,' for as salt drys up all that matter that tends to putrefaction, so it is a symbol of our doing the like in a spiritual state by taking away all natural corruption."

Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte has found in a commonplace-book among the Rawlinson MSS., at Oxford, a curious document of the year 1639 or 1640. It is a Latin proclamation to new boys (*recentes*), ordering them on penalty to assemble in the Hall, and listen and obey; and then follows what is apparently a Montem list, consisting of about seventy boys, mostly Collegers, divided into officers and inferiors. There are two *Consules*, which appears from the proclamation to be an innovation in place of one; a *Quaestor*, four *Senatores*, two *Asseclae*, a *Dominus Stipatorum*, a *Princeps Turris*, and a *Magister Equitum;* while the rest are either *Stipatores* or *Servi*. From a poem in the same volume, entitled "Second Course Verses at Recent-time at Eaton," it is plain that

the ceremonies were attended by feasting, and it would seem at the expense of the Consuls.

> "Welcome that guest who is as free
> As is our feast, and dares to bee
> As open as the hand
> Of our great consulls."

Roger Huggett's account of the proceedings in his day, about 1760, is as follows:—"The present manner is widely different from the simplicity of its first institution. Now the *Sales Epigrammatum* are changed into the *Sal purum*, and it is a Play day *without exercise.* Here is a procession of the school quite in the military way. The Scholars in the superior Classes dress in the proper Regimentals of Captain, Lieutenants, etc., which they borrow or hire from London on the occasion. The Procession is likewise in the military *order*, with drums, trumpets, etc. They thus march three times round the School Yard, and from thence to Salt Hill, on which one of the Scholars, dress'd in black and with a band as Chaplain, reads certain Prayers, after which a Dinner (dressed in the College kitchen) is provided by the Captain for his guests at the Inn there; the rest getting a Dinner for themselves at the other houses for Entertainment.

"But long before the Procession begins two of the Scholars, called Salt-bearers, dress'd in white, with a handkerchief of Salt in their hands and attended each with some sturdy young Fellow hir'd for the occasion, go round the College and thro' y^{e} Town and from thence up into the High road offering Salt to all, but yet scarce leaving it to their choice whether they will give or not, for money they will have if possible, and that even from Servants.

"The 5th and 6th Forms dine with y^{e} Captain. The noblemen usually do, and many other Scholars w^{hse} Friends are willing to be at the expense. The Price of the Dinner is to each 10^{s} 6^{d} and 2^{s} 6^{d} more for Salt money. Every Scholar gives 1^{s} for Salt. The noblemen more. At this time also

they gather the *recent* money which is [1s] from every Scholar that has been enter'd within the year.

"Dinner being over, they march back in the Order as before into ye School Yard, and wth ye Third round the Ceremony is concluded.

"The motto on the Ensign's colours is *Pro More et Monte.*

"Every Scholar who is no officer marches with a long Pole, Socii or two and two.

"At the same time and place the Head Master of the School makes a Dinner, at his own expense, for his acquaintance, Assistants, etc.

"Of late years the Captain has clear'd, after all expenses are paid, upwards of £100."

In Malim's time the Head Master chose some day near the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, but in later times, down to 1758, it was always held on the first Tuesday in Hilary Term, *i.e.*, the first after January 23rd, and the festival was annual. In 1758 the day was altered to Whitsun Tuesday, partly because it was a more agreeable season, and partly also it would seem because the old Whitsuntide holidays had been altered for five weeks' holiday at Election, and some break at Whitsun was desired. Dr. Davies, when Provost, remembered a passage having to be cut through the snow from School Yard to Salt Hill for the march of the procession.

After this change also Montem ceased to be held every year, and was held every second or third year. In 1775 it was definitely determined it should for the future be regularly triennial, and so it remained till its abolition.

In consequence of this change the much-coveted position of Captain of Montem became very much an accident of birth. Unless a boy's birthday was so arranged that the Election after he was nineteen fell in a Montem year, there was no chance of his getting Montem. Besides that, of course, he must be Captain of his year at the time of

Montem. If a death or resignation took place at King's, the anticipated Captain might have to go off to King's, and the right of being Captain of Montem lapsed to the second Colleger. Twenty days' grace after the summons to King's was allowed, and, in consequence, till twenty days before Whitsun Tuesday, it was always uncertain who would be Captain of Montem. The night before the twentieth day, known as "Montem Sure Night," was always kept with revelry in Long Chamber. All the Collegers sat up waiting for the possible arrival of a messenger from King's, until the last stroke of twelve had sounded on the College clock. Then, as an old Colleger describes it, "the whole Long Chamber broke out into a wild uproar. Window-shutters were banged hard; and as neither window nor shutter was ever cleaned—except under a very doubtful Election-holidays' hypothesis—the dust, spider web, and concrete air were such as only boys could endure. Bedsteads, too, half a ton weight, were raised a foot and more and thumped down upon the floor, and shouts of 'Montem Sure' were raised as well, and a mild pandemonium succeeded for the next quarter of an hour." It was usual for the Captain and the second Colleger at the beginning of the half to agree, that whichever was Captain of Montem should pay the other £50.

Every visitor who came to Montem, and every passer on the road within miles of Eton, was laid under contribution under the name of salt, and the whole funds collected were handed over to the Captain, who kept what was left after the day's expenses were paid to help him in his University career. In Huggett's time, as the quotation above shows, it was customary to give a pinch of salt in return for a contribution; but in later times little blue or yellow tickets, inscribed with an appropriate motto, such as *Pro More et Monte*, or *Mos pro Lege*, were given to each contributor, and usually worn in the hatband, or pinned to the dress for the rest of the day.

In Huggett's time the collectors appear to have been only the two Salt-bearers, and the collection to have been only in the immediate neighbourhood of Eton; but in later times, besides the two Salt-bearers—who were the second Colleger and the Captain of the Oppidans—there were twelve Runners, who were the last three Collegers in Sixth form, and nine more from the Upper Fifth. They were all dressed in fancy dresses of their own choosing, the Salt-bearers being the more gorgeous, but usually with plumed hats and high boots, and they all carried satin money-bags and painted staves with mushroom tops, sometimes of ivory, and inscribed with appropriate mottoes, such as "*Quando ita majores*," "*Nullum jus sine sale*," or "*Parcentes ego dexteras odi*." The day began very early for the Runners, because they had to dress and set out for their several stations, some of which were at a considerable distance. They were generally posted as follows:—Two at Maidenhead Bridge, two at Windsor Bridge, two at Datchet Bridge, two at Fifteen Arch Bridge, one at Iver, one at Gerard's Cross (known as the long run), one at Slough, and one at Salt Hill. The dignity of the Salt-bearers would not suffer them to move out of the College precincts. On all the distant runs the Runners were accompanied by a hired attendant, dressed in white and armed with pistols to protect them and their spoils. Of course they had to drive, and were generally entertained to breakfast in some country house in the neighbourhood. The amount collected varied with the popularity of the Captain, the presence or absence of Royalty, and so on; but in the last few Montems it averaged about £1000. At eleven o'clock the assembly of boys and visitors took place in School Yard, the boys all in fancy dress. After the Captain and College Salt-bearer the five next Sixth form Collegers ranked as Marshal, Ensign, Lieutenant, Sergeant-Major, and Steward. Any other Sixth form Colleger who was not a Runner, and the Sixth form Oppidans other than

the Captain, were Sergeants. All these, except the Steward, who wore the ordinary full dress of the period, were attired in uniforms of red tail-coats, white trousers, cocked hats and plumes, military boots, and the distinctive marks of their rank.

All the Fifth form Oppidans ranked as Corporals, and wore a red tail-coat with gilt buttons and white trousers, with a crimson sash, sword-belt with gilt buckles and sword, and cocked hat and plume like a field-marshal's. The Fifth form Collegers' dress was similar, except that their coats were blue instead of red. The Lower boys wore blue coats and gilt buttons, white waistcoats and trousers, silk stockings and pumps, and carried long white poles, whence they were called polemen. Until 1826 white kerseymere shirts and silk stockings with buckled shoes were worn instead of the white trousers. A certain number of Lower boys whose parents could afford the expense were chosen as pages or "Servants" to the Sixth form, and allowed to indulge the vagaries of their taste in more costly fancy dresses, and there might be observed assembling in the School Yard "airy Greek or sumptuous Ottoman, heroes of the Holy Sepulchre, Spanish Hidalgoes who had fought at Pavia, Highland chiefs who had charged at Culloden, gay in the tartan of Prince Charlie."

As soon as absence had been called the procession began to get under way in the order following:—Marshal, followed by six Servants; Band; Captain, followed by eight Servants; Sergeant-Major, followed by two Servants; twelve Sergeants, each followed by a Servant; Colonel, followed by six Servants and four Polemen; Corporals, two-and-two, followed by two Polemen apiece; second Band; Ensign, with flag, followed by six Servants and four Polemen; Corporals, two-and-two, followed by one or two Polemen apiece; Lieutenant, followed by four Servants; Salt-bearers, Runners, and Steward, followed by a Poleman.

Twice round School Yard it marched, and then once round Weston's Yard; at the last five Montems the pro-

CHARLES, FOURTH DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH
IN A MONTEM DRESS

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY, R.A., IN THE PROVOST'S LODGE AT ETON

cession went three times round School Yard and not round Weston's Yard; and then the Ensign waved his flag, a feat of great difficulty and requiring long practice. Doubtless this took place in later years in School Yard for the benefit of the royalties and distinguished visitors, who could view it comfortably from the windows of Election Chamber above the Cloister gate. At the last Montem, in 1844, the Queen, the Prince Consort, and Louis Philippe watched the proceedings from these windows. Then the Corporals drew their swords and slashed in half, if they could, the Polemen's poles, and the procession started off through the Playing Fields to Salt Hill.

On arriving at Salt Hill the Ensign again waved the flag backwards and forwards, round the neck, round the waist, round the knees, round the ankles, aloft, below, with a final flourish, supposed to mean "God Save the King!" The rest of the procession and the visitors stood round the base of the mound. This ended the ceremony in later times, but formerly it ended with two Collegers, dressed in black, to represent Parson and Clerk, gabbling some mock Latin prayers between them, and the prayers finished, the Parson proceeded to kick the Clerk down the hill. After 1778 this very indecorous horse-play was omitted at the request of Queen Charlotte. Then followed a big dinner to the whole school at Botham's and the Windmill Inns, paid for by the Captain out of his "salt." As the quotation above from Huggett shows, at that time the Sixth and Fifth forms only dined at the Captain's expense; but in later times all payments, even the one shilling for "recent money" levied on all boys who had not been a year in the school, which was paid as long ago as 1617 for Con O'Neil, were given up, and the actual dinner and the damage done by breakages at the table, and wanton destruction afterwards in the inn gardens, especially if the Captain happened to be unpopular, very much diminished the receipts. Besides the dinner and its

attendant expenses, the Captain had to give a breakfast in Hall to the first hundred boys, and he had also to pay for the bands and give the Salt-bearers, Runners, and other of his officers substantial "pouches" for their trouble. Absence was called at Salt Hill before the dinner, and again in the evening at Eton, whither the procession returned in straggling disorder in the afternoon.

In George III.'s time the boys used to go up to the Terrace at Windsor in the evening, but that custom was discarded in his successor's, and the Playing Fields presented an animated scene with the gay dresses of the boys and of their sisters and friends. One of the two pictures of Montem, by Samuel Evans, well known by engraving, represents the scene in the Playing Fields in the evening.

The verses and epigrams referred to by Malim seem to have had their place taken in later times by the Montem ode, which was a broadside of doggerel rhymes, nominally written by the Montem poet, in reality by some boy or other, as a skit on the best known personages in the procession.

An account of Montem in Knight's *Quarterly Magazine* for 1823, inspired if not written by Moultrie, describes the odes as influenced by the favourite schools of poetry of the day, and gives the following illustration of the influence of the Lake School:—

> "There's Ensign Rennell, tall and proud,
> Doth stand upon the hill
> And waves the flag to all the crowd,
> Who much admire his skill.
> And here I sit upon my ass,
> Who lops his shaggy ears;
> Mild thing! he lets the gentry pass,
> Nor heeds the carriages and peers."

For years the office of Montem poet was held by Herbert Stockhore, who used to drive about in a donkey-cart reciting his ode and flourishing copies in the air. He was succeeded

by a man called Ryder, and the last person who held the office was Edward Irwin, who was elected by vote of the boys, and is represented in Samuel Evans' picture of Montem alluded to above. The ode was sold at the nominal price of a shilling; but a story is told of Ryder being given a sovereign by a lady and refusing change, saying, "We never give change on Montem Day."

But the time came when Montem had to go. Though an enthusiastic Etonian might say: "I will not attempt to reason about the pleasures of Montem, but to an Etonian it is enough that it brings pure and ennobling recollections—calls up associations of hope and happiness—and makes even the wise feel that there is something better than wisdom, and the great that there is something nobler than greatness. And then the faces that come about us at such a time with their tales of old friendships or generous rivalries. I have seen to-day fifty fellows of whom I remember only the nicknames; they are now degenerated into scheming M.P.'s, or clever lawyers, or portly doctors; but at Montem they leave the plodding world of reality for one day, and regain the dignities of Sixth form Etonians."

Yet a good many people felt that the "something between begging and robbing" of the collection of salt, and the idleness, luxury, and interruption of school business which Montem fostered, were becoming a public scandal. These features had already struck people in the last century, and Lord Kaimes had passed some severe strictures on the licensed brigandage. Any change, as long as Dr. Goodall was Provost, was out of the question, though Dr. Hawtrey must have been well aware on his appointment, in 1834, of the desirability of abolition, or, at least, reform. Provost Hodgson was firmly of opinion that no amount of reform was of any use, and though he took no steps immediately on his appointment, in 1840, it was not long before events brought most of the supporters of Montem to the same

opinion as the Provost. In 1841 the newly-opened Great Western Railway brought down a crowd of most undesirable sightseers, and the next Montem of 1844, when Bernard Drake was Captain, was the last. At this last Montem an attempt was made to secure as much privacy as possible. The procession started an hour later than usual, refreshments were provided in a tent at Salt Hill, the boys were not allowed to enter any of the inns, and they were required to answer to their names at half-past three in the Playing Fields. The usual dinners were held in semi-privacy on Fellows' Eyot at four o'clock. But these measures were but a small palliation for the really great evils, and before the next Montem came round the Provost, Head Master, and Lower Master, most of the Assistants, and three out of the seven Fellows were of opinion that the whole thing should be abolished.

The Queen and Prince Albert, though very reluctant to sanction in any way directly the abolition of so interesting and picturesque a custom, felt that in the face of so strongly-expressed an opinion of the persons best qualified to judge, they could not interfere on its behalf. The decree, therefore, went forth that there was to be no further celebration of Montem. There was a good deal of rather silly opposition from old Etonians, some amount of feeling in the school, and Dr. Hawtrey was in some anxiety as to what might happen on Whitsun Tuesday, 1847. Leave was given to the Eight to go up the river with Mr. Samuel Evans, and a cricket match with an eleven who had obtained the Head Master's leave took place in the Playing Fields. A few Lower boys broke windows, and there was a little fun of burying a flag at Salt Hill, but as Hawtrey, writing to the Provost, said: "It is certain that the Upper part of the School cared nothing about the Matter. If they had cared there must have been a real Outbreak. There was nothing at all approaching the old

SALT HILL, MONTEM, 1824

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY R. CRUIKSHANK

Absence Rows which used in Days gone by to take Place two or three Times every School Term."

With characteristic generosity Dr. Hawtrey gave £200 out of his own pocket to the father of the boy who would have been Captain of Montem, which was the average sum that in later years the Captain netted after the expenses of the day were cleared; and he further entertained at a great dinner in Upper School those who would probably have attended Montem, from many of whom and other well-known men, both Etonians and non-Etonians, he received many letters of congratulation on his courage and good sense.

So ended, after lasting certainly three, probably four, hundred years, the most picturesque of all school customs.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LIFE IN LONG CHAMBER—BAD SUPPLY OF FOOD—FAGGING—BLANKET TOSSING—RAT HUNTS—MASQUERADES—THEATRICALS.

OF life in College in the old days, before the New Buildings were erected and other improvements introduced, some record must be made.

If any change had taken place in the condition of the Collegers since the fifteenth century, it was for the worse; while luxury after luxury had been becoming necessities of life to other English people. Changes at Eton have been as a rule slow enough, and it was not a new thing that the injustice of the treatment of the Collegers should be recognized. As long ago as 1634 the Fellows of King's had remonstrated with the Provost and Fellows of Eton for sharing the College revenues among themselves and depriving the Scholars of "breakfasts, clothing, bedding, and all other necessaries which the statute amply allows them." Provost Godolphin, who died in 1734, left a sum of £4000, which came to the College in 1786, to improve the Collegers' fare by providing beef and pudding. It was invested in Stock, and with the exception of a small portion of the interest, which was expended in providing puddings on Sundays, the whole was allowed to accumulate; and in 1844 it amounted to £8000, which [illegible] was borrowed by the College for the New Buildings [illegible]

By the end of the eighteenth century the life of the Collegers and the state of Long Chamber were becoming by-words.

Fathers still sent their sons into College to get the great advantage of the scholarships and fellowships at King's, but entry was delayed to the latest possible hour. The extra expenses of a Colleger were so large as to make his education nearly as costly as that of an Oppidan. George Berkeley, a grandson of the Bishop of Cloyne, who was in the school about 1775, was allowed £200 a year by his father on his consenting to migrate from his tutor Norbury's into College.

An inspection of Mr. Stapylton's *Eton School Lists* from 1791 to 1847, the year after the New Buildings were completed, shows that there were very few years in which there were the full number of 70 Scholars. At Election, 1841, there were only 43, and for the 35 vacancies in that year there were only two candidates. In 1811, before Lord Brougham's Commission, the Eton witnesses spoke in the strongest possible terms of the state of things which neglect and indifference allowed; but the thirty years' reign of the complacent Goodall had to expire before anything was done.

Let us try and give some idea of what life in College was as those who endured it have described it.

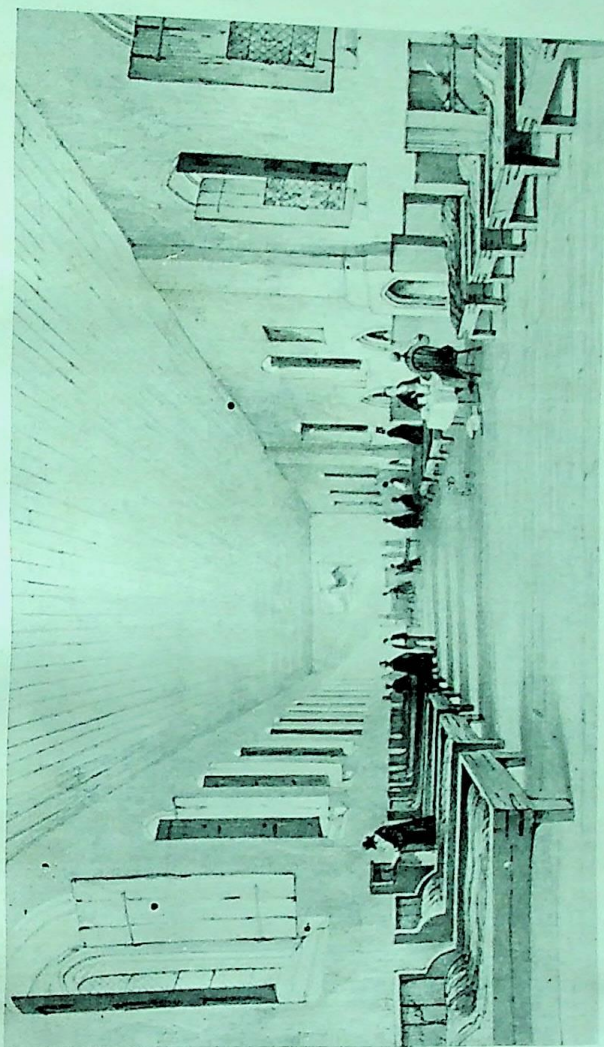
Long Chamber is often spoken of as if it was the home of all the scholars; but in point of fact there were three rooms, Long Chamber, Carter's Chamber, and Lower Chamber, and at the very last there seem to have been four, there being then two rooms known as Carter's Chambers, Upper and Lower. Long Chamber had accommodation for fifty-two boys; the others, which might be chosen if preferred, and for which extra payments were made, were supposed to have certain advantages in comfort. A parody on Gray's *Ode*, written in 1798, on the Colleger's life, begins :—

> "Ye chambers three, ye foul abodes
> Which filth and bedsteads line,
> Where every instant adds fresh loads
> To Cloacina's shrine."

Carter's Chamber had an especially bad reputation. John Lonsdale, writing to Provost Hodgson in 1812, says:—"Eton looks all lovely always excepting Carter's Chamber, which is more beastly than ever."

The furniture was of the meagrest description; there were large oaken beds, measuring 4 feet 6 inches across, and a painted desk and cupboard combined, something after the nature of a Winchester "toy," at which one had to stand, and that was practically all; there were no chairs except for Sixth form and Liberty, *i.e.*, the first six boys in Fifth form, who had bureaus instead of the desks; no tables, no washing apparatus, except a few basins on a sloppy shelf appropriated to the use of Sixth form; sometimes not even enough bedsteads, and some boys had to sleep on the floor. The dirt was indescribable; no one ever attempted to clean the place; the only approach to a cleaning was by "rug-riding" at Election. As the before-quoted parody says:—

> "Yet, ah! why should they wash their face,
> Or why despise their happy case?
> If cleanliness such joy denies,
> Soap might destroy their Paradise.—
> No more: where beastliness is bliss
> 'T is folly to be nice."

"Rug-riding" has just been alluded to. This was part of an elaborate fraud perpetrated annually for the benefit of visitors at Election-tide, when Long Chamber was, if not swept, at least garnished to please the strangers' eyes. The first proceeding was to polish the floor, which was accomplished by the ingenious and amusing process of rug-riding. Six or eight boys would be harnessed to a sledge, constructed out of rugs and blankets off Lower boys' beds, in which a big boy sat, and was drawn rapidly up and down the whole length of the floor. This process, continued for an hour or two every night for a week before Election Saturday, made the floor like a sheet of glass.

LONG CHAMBER, CIRCA 1840

FROM A LITHOGRAPH BY CHARLES RADCLYFFE

worken the walls were all decorated with branches of beech and oak, cut in the College woods at Hedgerley and Burnham, a custom which dated from early times, being alluded to by Malim in connection with May Day; and the beds were all covered with the fine green cloth coverlets, edged with gold braid, and embroidered with the College arms, that had been presented by the butcher of Culloden. These coverlets existed till consumed in the Brewhouse fire in 1875.

The completion of the fraud was the Captain's study; it was a small room opening out of Long Chamber, with two windows and a large bookcase, graced in ordinary times by a copy of Maltby's *Thesaurus.* At Election, however, the Captain borrowed all the elegantly-bound books he could from his friends, Oppidan or Colleger, and the result, with the addition of a few boxing-gloves and foils to give the requisite flavour of athleticism, was stupendous.

But the great time in Long Chamber was in the evening after eight, when its inhabitants were locked up for the night. Lock-up might nominally be at 6.30, but the outer doors were not shut till 8.30; and as some sort of check the Head Master used to come round, usually about 7 or 7.30, to call absence.

The authority of Sixth form was absolute over all boys except Liberty; and if they, to do their own work in peace, or for any whim, ordered silence, silence there was, enforced by the strong hand, or by setting the breakers of it to write an epigram of four lines, which must have at least one joke, however feeble. The tradition of Sixth form setting epigrams still remains in College, but the punishment for such mild offences as being late for Hall now takes the form of writing out thirty Latin lines to be shown up, as the epigrams were, at Sixth form supper. The Sixth form then as now had the privilege of taking their supper in College instead of Hall. They took it in Lower Chamber, but that supplied by the College did not go far. The allowance was a loin of mutton,

which was divided as follows: the first four had two b[illegible] each, and the chump was given to the man who came regularly to the window from the Christopher to do every-one's supper commissions. The man who held this office at the end of the last century was named Johnny Bear, and he gave his name to the chump of the loin, which it retained long after he was gone or gathered to his fathers.

Beer, porter, or occasionally a bowl of bishop brewed by the hands of Garraway, the landlord of the Christopher, flowed, so to speak, through the windows of Lower Chamber. In the early years of this century "Bulstrode" was a favourite tap at the Christopher. This was a specially strong porter, a stock of which was purchased by Garraway at the sale of effects at Bulstrode, and retailed by him at a shilling a quart, long, said the scandal mongers, after all the original tap had been drunk. "Bulstrode" was succeeded by a tap called the "Queen's," supposed to have come from the royal cellars.

Sometimes the Sixth form's potations reached excess. One half-yearly occurrence was "Drinkings-in," fortunately abolished before Long Chamber came to an end. The Captain of the School used to collect from every boy in the school a shilling for the expenses of the Upper football and cricket clubs, which produced a sum much in excess of the expenses. Custom decreed that the balance should be devoted to the feasts of the Sixth form Collegers. Proceedings began with a first-rate dinner after four at the Christopher, where large quantities of port, Madeira, claret, and champagne were consumed; and ended round the Upper fireplace in Long Chamber with a succession of twelve-shilling bowls of bishop, and the howling of songs and choruses, at the close of which most of the Sixth form had to be helped to bed by Lower boys, themselves very likely half tipsy also from the generosity of their Masters.

The supply of food to the Collegers was most inadequate.

meals that the College professed to supply were dinner and supper. Dinner was at two o'clock and was invariably the same from year's end to year's end, roast mutton, bread, and beer, with, for about eight months in the year, mashed potatoes, and on Sundays plum pudding. The monotonous fare and the disgusting method of serving it were bad enough, but the supply was nothing like sufficient. About 1820 the method of service was as follows:—Just before two o'clock all the Lower boys were collected outside the kitchen, and when the joints had been arranged on the dresser the door was opened and a rush was made for the pewter dishes. To get the most popular joints which would be soonest got rid of was the object. The procession of small boys, each with his greasy pewter dish resting against his waistcoat, mounted the stairs and stood in line, while in order of seniority the Captain of each mess for the time being chose his joint. A leg went for eight, and was probably chosen first, then the ninth chose, and so on until the last joint and Hobson's choice was arrived at. A shoulder and a loin went for eight and a neck for six, every boy carved in turn, and in consequence the "lags" of each mess had, as a rule, nothing much but bone, especially as by rigid tradition a boy would sooner have no dinner at all than touch the under side of the shoulder. In the second decade of the century some strong representations from parents induced the College to promote the loin to six and the neck to four. The bread, both white and brown, was good, but all agree that the beer was thick, vile, and new, and only drinkable when converted into "bumble," which was done by bottling with a spoonful of brown sugar or a few raisins, and keeping some days. The only exceptions to this monotony were on Founder's Day and Election Saturday, when every one was allowed half a roast chicken laid on a plate of pressed greens, with the addition on Election Saturday of a three-cornered raspberry and currant tart. In later times the Founder's Day chickens were

converted into turkeys by the munificence of William.
The plum pudding on Sundays was provided out of part
of the bequest of Provost Godolphin, before alluded to.
There was "Bever" in the summer after four, bread and
beer, that is, set out in Hall for any who chose to partake,
and this ancient custom in all its simplicity lasted down till
1890, when it was abolished as a useless expense, to the
regret of many old Collegers, who could not see it perish
with equanimity. If it served no very necessary purpose yet
it was a link with the past that even the American tourist
appreciated.

The only other food that the College supplied was supper,
which always consisted of cold roast scrags and breasts of
mutton, with bread and beer. It was served at the hour of
six all the year round, and was attended by very few,
perhaps half a dozen Lower boys, who probably only carried
off the bread in their gown pockets to eat later on at night.

It was impossible that boys could live on the food thus
provided, and it was supplemented in various ways. The
College cook made a fine thing out of selling sweets and
tarts and other luxuries, and nearly every boy hired, or
joined in hiring, a room up town, where he could have break-
fast and tea in peace, keep his books, and do his lessons.
Every Colleger was assigned to a dame, who kept a cheerless
room known as the Collegers' room, where a boy was
supposed to spend his time when "staying out," and if he
had no private room, eat his breakfast, which was supplied
by the dame, and took the quite inadequate form of a roll
and butter, and half a pint of milk. Every Colleger was
attached to a dame, who was supposed to look after him in
sickness down till 1857, when the system, at the urgent
instance of Mr. C. Kegan Paul, then Master in College,
was abolished. In the "forties" one tutor always fed his
College pupils on Saturday night. There arrived regularly
"eleemosynary rabbit pie, with fruit pie to follow," at Long

door, and the good things were distributed fairly among his pupils. "I don't know about 'eaten bread,'" says the pupil who tells the story, "but eaten rabbit and cherry pie are not soon forgotten."

A great deal of the stealing and poaching that the Collegers indulged in was really to supply the deficiencies of their food supply. The story of the capture of the sow, that was kept on the leads till she farrowed and the last of the litter had been eaten as sucking pig, though considerable doubt has been thrown on it, seems to be not without foundation. Everybody knows the story as told in Tennyson's *Walking to the Mail*, but the first chronicler of it in prose* speaks as if he had seen though not participated in it. The sow's head, he says, was muffled in a gown, and four boys dragged her up to the top of the tower in Long Chamber. Some worthies about the same time escaped from the window of Long Chamber by a rope ladder at night, and cleared out the fish kept in the punt well in the pond of Botham's hostelry at Salt Hill.

It is only fair to state that the author of *Eton of Old*, who was in College from 1811 to 1822, entirely disbelieves the sow tradition, which was current in his time, as well as tales of deer poached from the Home Park. The most the sportsmen of his day achieved was the murder of two swans, which were subsequently roasted at the Upper fireplace in Long Chamber, and were, no doubt, nasty enough.

Lower boys had a pretty rough time of it; fagging even as an Oppidan Lower boy involved cleaning knives, and sharping other boys' rolls for his master's breakfast, but it was far more onerous in College. During the day the Lower boy might have some refuge in his room up town, but at night there was no escape. To make his master's bed was usually his first evening task, and woe betide him if he did not make it tidily, and especially if he left the rough middle

* H. J. C. BLAKE in *The Reminiscences of an Etonian.*

seam of a sheet inwards; if he did, he would infallib[ly be] hauled out of bed between eleven and twelve, and run up the Long to put it right, and to receive excessive punishment. Then there was his own bed to make, Sixth form to wait on at supper, their knives and plates to be washed up afterwards, and all their numerous wants, from providing them with a new "College candlestick" to laying out their clean clothes and tucking them up in bed, to be supplied. The College, it may be noted, provided, as it does at the present day, candles, but not candlesticks, so the usual candlestick was home made: the process was simple—it was to tear off a book cover, double it, make two cuts in it to fit the candle, and bind it together with a bit of string. If all your books were coverless, you took someone else's; the eighth Commandment was restricted in its application, just as in modern times it has no reference to stationery.

A much hated service was sawing logs for Carter's Chamber, where the fireplace had only dogs for wood, and the winter's supply was piled up in solid logs four or five feet long, which had to be cut up into more suitable lengths. Every morning the fag had to fill his master's basin, whatever the weather, from the pump in Weston's Yard, and to see that his shoes were properly blacked by the man hired for this service. The only means of washing for all below the sixteen seniors was at the pump, or in the private rooms up town. In 1838 a deputation waited on Dr. Hawtrey, asking that water might be laid on in College, but was met with the contemptuous "You will be wanting gas and Turkey carpets next."

Moultrie, in his *Dream of Life*, alludes in somewhat stilted blank verse to many of the services that had to be performed. Among the more odious was running up every evening in winter to a shop near Windsor Bridge, between eight and half-past, and bringing down a load of coals in a gown. This was for the Upper fireplace, and was paid for in turn

e Fifth form. The making of the fire was an elaborate work of ceremony and of art, and the method of it is thus described by an old Colleger:—"The construction of the fire was a fearful and wonderful mystery, supposed to be handed down from very ancient times; but this must have been a myth, as no fireplace existed in Chamber earlier than 1784. We made the fire in turn—that is to say, every Jew (the name by which new Collegers were known) had to make three fires first, and then the Colleger of older standing. The ceremony began with 'putting on the top crust' at 7.45 p.m., and raking out the dust; the time between Hall supper and prayers was occupied by further feeding and humouring the fire and carefully measuring with rug-strings three, or if possible two, big coals which would go right across above the top bar. These coals were supplied extra, and had to be paid for by the victim of the evening. After prayers this magical headpiece was put on, and at 9.15 the 'captain in' was requested to poke the fire from below. The same ceremony was repeated at 9.30, after which the 'captain of fireplace' was appealed to to judge the fire. Woe to the unlucky wight whose 'top row' gave way during the poking! His fire was certain to be condemned unless a good-natured Sixth form kindly smashed it in for him, in which case the fire must be judged good. If it was not 'let off' as declared up to the mark, the same boy had to do the same thing all over again the next night, and so on till he had learned how to make a proper one."*

The construction of the fire may have been a good deal more ancient than the writer of this extract supposes; for before the fireplaces in Chamber were made, there appears to have been a room with a fireplace, in which the Collegers could warm themselves. It is alluded to in a College account book of 1689 as "the Fire Room for the Scholars." The Common Rooms in the monasteries and the

* *Eton in the Forties*, p. 360.

Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were originally [illegible] same object, viz., to warm their members in winter.

Long Chamber had its particular amusements—rat-hunting, masquerades and theatricals, and blanket-tossing were of immemorial antiquity. We have references to blanket-tossing as long ago as 1738, when Francis Cust, writing to his brother John, afterwards the Speaker, says:—"I did not care how little while I had to stay at school, both that I might be at Cambridge before you left it, and because the Dr. upon a Blanket-tossing Account, which I suppose you have heard of, has taken upon him to call Absence in Hall and Chamber every Night, and there is very little or no Distinction at all between us and the Lower boys."

The operation was performed by eight boys to the accompaniment of the line—

"Ibis ab excusso missus ad astra sago,"

the tossers swaying five times with the loose blanket, and tightening at the final syllable so as to send the tossed flying. Some who have undergone it assure us that it was a most pleasurable sensation; but it was given up about 1832 in consequence of an accident which nearly killed Rowland Williams. Some incompetent tosser let go his corner of the blanket, and Williams came down head-foremost on the edge of a bedstead, in such a way that he "was completely scalped as with a tomahawk, the scalp hanging down over the neck and back suspended only by a small piece of skin. No skull was fractured, nor was there a concussion of the brain; indeed, beyond the pain of having the scalp sewn on again, and the natural irritation of the wound, he did not suffer either at the time or in after life."

The rat-hunting in Chamber was the part of his Eton life that Porson looked back upon with greatest pleasure. There was always plenty of opportunity for the sport, the remains of supper and other feasts kept the rats in good health, and

EDWARD COLERIDGE
SHEWING A COLLEGER'S DRESS CIRCA 1820

FROM AN ENGRAVING IN ACKERMANN'S
HISTORY OF ETON

...sitively swarmed. The state of things may be partly ...magined from the fact, that in 1858 two cartloads of bones were removed from between the floor of Chamber and the ceiling of the room below.

There seem to have been two favourite modes of trapping ...em in vogue, each effected by means of a stocking. When ... rats were very bold they would come out while the Sixth ...orm were at supper; a fag was then sent round to insert ...tockings in the holes, an alarm was given, the rats bolted for their holes, with the result that a rat was imprisoned in each stocking, and quickly banged to death against a bed. The other method was to cut off the end of a strawberry pottle, insert it in a stocking with a bit of toasted cheese in the toe; the rat could get in but not out without the greatest difficulty; and once trapped somebody was always ready to pounce on him. At one time it was the fashion to skin the slain, and decorate the walls above the fireplaces with them.

On one day in the winter half the Saturnalia of a Masquerade always took place, when everybody, from Captain to the smallest Lower boy, came out in character. The beds were all turned up on end, penny dips, of which everyone bought his quota, were stuck on all the corners, and made a grand illumination. Dresses of all kinds, made by their wearers, or hired for the occasion, were seen on every side; everyone was masked, and strove to be unrecognized, and for two hours the fun went on. The judge, the bishop, the Spanish noble, the heavy dragoon, the milkman, the sweep, and all the other cries of London, the Scotch fish-wife, the English milkmaid, were all to be seen.

The Rev. C. A. Wilkinson relates how in the year of his Captaincy he appeared with great success as Dr. Dulcamara, the quack doctor in the opera of *Elisir d'Amore*, riding on a donkey procured for the occasion by Picky Powell, the well-known "cad." The donkey was successfully hidden during

a visit of Keate to call absence, and eventually slept in Chamber all night, and was regaled with veal pie.

Another great attraction during the winter months was the theatre; it existed down to the "forties," and had existed long before. In summer the whole of the stage machinery and properties were kept up town, in the winter under the behind beds, and in any available corner. A dozen or of the Lower bedsteads had brackets, sockets, and other accessories permanently fitted to them, and the scenes adjusted, and everything marked and numbered, so that in half an hour the whole stage could be got ready. English comedies—Sheridan's, Colman's, and so on, were the favourite pieces.

Stratford Canning acted Morland and Stedfast in the *Heir-at-Law*, in 1802 or 1803, and wrote the prologue. It is noteworthy that it was the theatrical mania which first began to bridge the gulf between Oppidan and Colleger. The Long Chamber performances excited emulation among the Oppidans, and about 1818 the forces united, and the great time of the Eton drama ensued. The Oppidans who started the theatre were George William Frederick Howard, afterwards seventh Earl of Carlisle, and Germain Lavie, and the scene of action was first of all one of Hester's boat-sheds. Afterwards a warehouse in Datchet Lane was obtained, and the joint forces were managed by Moultrie for the Collegers, and Robert Crawford for the Oppidans. A member of the company thus describes some of the chief actors in the pages of *Etoniana*:—"We certainly had some prodigiously fine actors, but there is one who is indelibly impressed upon my memory—St. Vincent Bowen. His Sir Peter Teazle, Oakley, Bob Acres, Old Rapid, Lord Duberley, Sir Robert Bramble, and Old Philpotts were marvellous performances. I have seen much professional acting, and have paid much attention to it; but after a lapse of forty-five years I can recall every look and gesture of this great actor,

... whom we all quailed, and I can safely say that I never saw his equal. Moultrie, Hare, Maclean, Bullock, Crawford, Wilder, Buxton, were the other chief performers. . . . Moultrie in domestic pathos was unrivalled; it was a ...nge sight to see tears on the cheeks of some dare-devil ...per Division boy—some stalwart stroke of the ten-oar, ... Captain of the eleven—as they contemplated his Job ...hornberry; while in broad farce—

'Rat-catcher, Quaker, Corporal, or Jew'

his quaint humour was equally popular.

"Wilder, elegant and graceful in declamation, if somewhat artificial; Donald Maclean, the fop, or sparkling man of fashion; Hare (Lord Listowel), admirable as an Irishman, or in the eccentricities of Sir Abel Handy; Bullock (the late Common Serjeant), as the testy old man, especially good in Sir Anthony Absolute; Thorpe, who in Ella Rosenberg and Mary Thornberry exhibited the very pathos of Fanny Kelly; Howard (Lord Carlisle), although, *me judice*, a failure in tragedy, and ungainly in person for the heroes of comedy, played Mrs. Oakley and Mrs. Candour with extraordinary power and success."

Lord Tullamore, afterwards Lord Charleville, is recorded also to have drawn tears from his audience in the character of Sir Philip Blandford.

But the success of the youthful actors in the end proved their ruin. Of course, the Masters knew of their proceedings, but knew also that it kept the performers out of serious mischief, and as long as it was not forced on their attention they were astute enough not to see. A performance of *The Iron Chest*, got up at considerable expense and very strongly cast, gave the death-blow. A band was hired, the choristers from St. George's sang, tickets were given to ladies of Windsor and Eton and to officers of the garrison, and some of the recipients were foolish enough to talk about

the affair at the Provost's table on the very day, and upon the "unlucky manager was sent for into chambers, and was quietly informed that any more of this courting the *popularis aura* would be immediately followed by expulsion.

Some years later there was another revival of the joint troupe, which hired a large room in Eton High Street from Barney Levi, the Jew costumier, and gave several successful pieces, including *Bombastes Furioso* and *Deaf as a Post*. There was to have been a great performance of *The Rivals*, in which Sir Edward Creasy was cast for Sir Anthony Absolute, the Marquis of Downshire for Sir Lucius O'Trigger, Provost Goodford for Mrs. Malaprop, and the Rev. George Williams for Lydia Languish; but unfortunately the actors took to learning their parts in school, and Keate detected the whole thing, and having seized a playbill proceeded to call up the performers one by one under their assumed names, beginning with the ladies, and the whole thing was stopped.

In Hawtrey's time Long Chamber theatricals still went on, the Head Master affecting not to see the half-prepared scenery of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or *High Life Below Stairs* in his evening visits, and asking no questions about the paste-board trees and gauze wings imperfectly concealed. At this period Mr. Francis Tarver, to this day distinguished as an amateur actor, was the most successful of the Long Chamber troupe. Mr. Arthur Coleridge records also that at his dame's, before he entered College, ambition soared to representations of *Julius Cæsar* and Addison's *Cato*, and occasionally rooms were hired, and performances given in Eton and Windsor.

There was a good deal of absolute bullying in the Long, even if the blanket-tossing be put on one side. To be waked out of sleep by a cord fastened to your toe and dragged up and down the room was unpleasant and painful; so was being "put into play," which was accomplished thus:

T[illegible] bedsteads were arranged on either side of one of the [illegible]ces, and two closed the end in and made a square; [C]aptain and other head boys sat round on the beds, [u]nfortunate victim in the middle near the Captain, who [sen]d him with a kick to the other side, whence the others [retur]ned the living shuttlecock. This went on till the victim [wa]s supposed to have had enough of it, and he was released [an]d another followed.

Things, of course, were not as bad when Long Chamber [c]ame to an end as they had been in earlier years, but it was without question a good thing for everybody concerned when the absolute and irresponsible authority of Sixth form was to a large extent abated. Of that authority one who knew it well said, "Go where such a one might in English after-life, he would in no profession, relation, or place have such a thorough, unmitigated, personal control over his fellows as he had as a Sixth form Colleger."

Such were some of the discomforts of Long Chamber, but even the Oppidan's life was not altogether one of luxury as we understand it. His room might be clean and tidy, but it would have a bare sanded floor, no window blinds or curtains; there would be table, chairs, bureau, folding bedstead, and towel-covered wash-hand-stand, and he could have his breakfast and tea in peace, even if his dame supplied no more than an "order" of bread and of milk, and left him to provide anything more from his own purse.

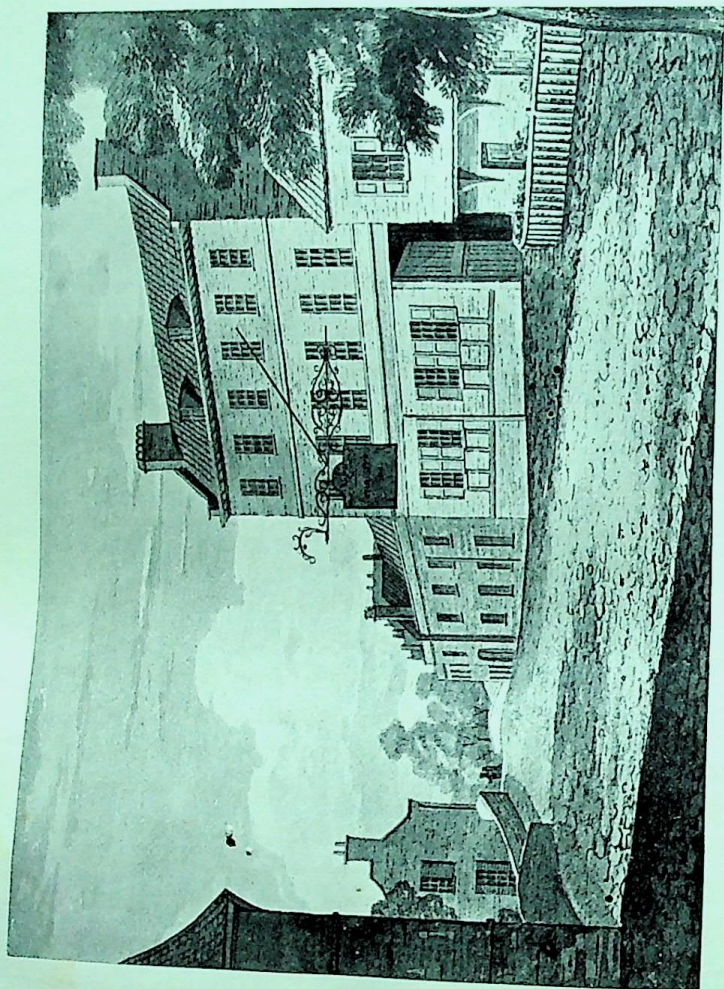
Bullying, too, was not unknown in the boarding-houses. Charles Milnes Gaskell, in 1824, laments the hardships he had to undergo; his furniture is cut to pieces and his clothes torn. A letter to his mother says:—

"Rolles got spurs and rode some of us over a leap positively impossible to be leapt over with a person on your back, and every time (which is every time) we cannot accomplish it he spurs us violently, and my thigh is quite sore with the inroads made by this dreadful spur. My Poetae Graeci is destroyed, my new coat completely ruined."

The fagging seems to have varied a good deal. Th[e] ...bers, boy says :— ... the

"After the fagging at Atkins's the fagging here is only n[o]... [illeg]ion. I have nothing to do, except in the morning and evening to fe[tch] Egerton major's kettle and make tea for him. He has thr[ee] Hopwood minor, Farquhar, and myself. One gets the milk, an[other] the kettle, and another the rolls and butter, and then unless Eg[erton] gives us any further orders we need not stay. Now at Atkins's I ... to set the things, run down to Cripp's for ham, bacon, br[ead,] chocolate, &c., &c., then receive several blows from Morrell beca[use] I was not quick enough. Then I had to boil eggs for Taunto[n,] fetch up the rolls, butter, &c., and then generally was employed i[n] the servile offices of brushing Halifax's clothes and tying his shoes."

Perhaps it may not be out of place here to mention that the more genial side of Keate's character was to be seen in Long Chamber. As we have already said, the Head Master always came in to call absence in the winter months between 6.30 and 8.30, and with Keate it was a season when he could unbend and talk kindly and graciously about any events of the day. He took great interest in all the cricket and football matches, and always asked about all the details, especially of Collegers *v.* Oppidans, and was as vexed as could be if Collegers were beaten. So it is related that on one theatrical night, seeing some property sticking out from under a bed, he asked the præpostor what it was. The præpostor in some alarm murmured something about "amusement," and Keate, ignoring his embarrassment, said quietly that perhaps the winter evenings *were* rather long, knowing of course perfectly well the whole time what was going on.

Some account of the amelioration of the Collegers' lot will be given in the next chapter.

THE CHRISTOPHER INN
CIRCA 1815

FROM A DRAWING IN THE POSSESSION OF R. COPE, ESQ.

CHAPTER XIX.

DR. HAWTREY AND HIS REFORMS—MATHEMATICS—NEW BUILDINGS AND REFORM IN COLLEGE—PASSING—ABOLITION OF THE CHRISTOPHER—CHAPEL SERVICES AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

WITH the retirement of Keate and the appointment of Edward Craven Hawtrey as his successor the age of modern Eton may be said to have begun. The mutterings of the storm, that were to rouse Eton from her dogmatic slumber, were heard even before Keate resigned, and they had sufficient effect to cause the numbers of the school, which had reached 627 in 1833, to fall to 486 in 1834.

The *Edinburgh Review*, in January 1834, began the attack. The chief of the evils to which attention was called were: the *circulus vitiosus*, by which boys, badly educated at Eton, went up to King's in order of seniority and not of merit, passed through the University and took their degrees with the Kingsmen's privilege of exemption from Tripos examinations, and then returned immediately to Eton as Masters; the bad, ill-chosen, blundering school books in use, and the excessive hours of play; the laxness of discipline, which permitted "the system of *fagging*—the only regular institution of slave-labour enforced by brute violence which now exists in these islands"; and the punishment of flogging, "an operation performed on the naked back by the Head Master himself, who is always a gentleman of great abilities and acquirements, and sometimes of high dignity in the church."

If the *Edinburgh* reviewer, in his conscious North Brit
virtue, strikes occasionally the ludicrous note, as when he
reprehends "the worse than absurd custom of spouting Latin
and Greek speeches, the maintenance of which, and of the
custom of acting Terence's plays at Westminster School,
is a proof how hurtful practices are sometimes perseveringly
kept up, without attempt at defence or symptom of shame,
in the face of the most conclusive objections," yet there was
a great deal of truth in his strictures, and the war of
pamphlets that ensued, concluding with an absurdly con-
servative article in the *Quarterly Review*, showed what the
public feeling was on the subject, and that even apologists
could find no apology for some things, for instance the
treatment of the Collegers.

Hawtrey, who had been the senior and the most capable
of the Assistant Masters, began some reforms at once,
though the optimistic conservatism of Dr. Goodall prevented
much being effected till 1840. His first proceeding was to
render the Divisions of the school more manageable. He
ceased to attempt the impossible task of teaching the Sixth
and Upper Fifth together in Upper School, and abandoning
the great desk, from which Keate had thundered at 150 boys,
he retired into the Library with a Division consisting of the
Sixth form, ten Collegers, and ten Oppidans, and the first six
Collegers and first six Oppidans in Fifth form. That
arrangement subsists till the present day.

His next proceeding was to divide up the rest of Fifth
form among the four or five senior Assistants, making no
distinction in the books they were reading, so that each
Master was responsible for his Division in all their lessons for
a school time. This principle, which seems so obvious now,
was before Hawtrey's time applied to the Remove alone.
The result was that a boy henceforth was subject to two
Masters only, his division-master, who superintended his
school work, and his tutor, who looked after him generally.

This system, except for the necessary modifications that the regular teaching of mathematics and natural science has rendered necessary, is the existing one.

In these changes Hawtrey had the support of his predecessor, who heartily approved of his new plan of organization, saying: "I should not have had the courage to do this myself, but I highly approve of it, and hope you may get the fullest credit for it."

The number of Masters was increased, and some improvements were made in the school books, though not nearly so many as were required. The modern elaborate system of "Trials," or examinations, which take place every school time for promotion from one Division to another, and the settlement of order of seniority, is to be traced to Hawtrey. Before his time the principle of competition had not been introduced, and a boy's place in the school did not depend on marks obtained; though "Trials" themselves existed as far back as the middle of the last century. In old days four papers used to be the sum of the matter, which were written in Upper School under the disadvantages of sitting astride a form and using your hat as a writing-desk. The results of the papers, not marked but appraised, were read over by Keate in the Library. William Johnson (Cory) mentions judgment being passed on his four papers—"Very well, very well, well, very well," and he remained Captain of his Remove, as he had been since the first fortnight of his Eton life. The Rev. Osmond Fisher, afterwards a High Wrangler, Fellow of Jesus College Cambridge, and a distinguished geologist, recalls a similar occasion when the verdict on his performances was "Bad, very bad, very bad, bad."

But it is the living instruments of education that are the most important, and Hawtrey not only increased their number, but improved their efficiency. His secret of government, both as regards his boys and as regards his Assistants, "his colleagues," as he liked to call them, was trust, sym-

pathy, and encouragement. "If," writes one of those colleagues, "there is any truth in that melancholy caricature by which Keate is known to most men, if his battle-cry really was 'I'll flog you,' it is no less true, though it is by no means well known, that Hawtrey's characteristic utterance was 'Very well, very good exercise,' said with a gracious emphasis which never lost its charm."

To encourage his colleagues in every way, to put them on their mettle, to inspire them with some of his own zeal, to sympathize with their theories or even their crudities and eccentricities, was his system, and it rarely failed him. His young men worked for him with enthusiasm and courage, not always on his own lines, but always with a passionate desire for his ends.

And so it was that though Hawtrey was still restricted to Kingsmen for the choice of his Assistants, not only by Provost Goodall, but by a curious piece of perversity by Provost Hodgson also, a restriction which lost him the services of Professor Goldwin Smith and Henry Coleridge, yet the Kingsmen he did obtain were far more zealous and far more efficient.

To sum up his character in the words of William Johnson, that one of his colleagues who had in all probability the greatest influence on his generation :—

"Such was the man; not an accurate scholar, though versed in many tongues; not thoroughly well informed, though he had spent thirty thousand pounds on books; not able to estimate correctly the intellectual development of younger men, though he corresponded with the leaders of England and France; not qualified to train schoolboys in competition with a Vaughan or a Kennedy possessing the advanced knowledge of a later generation, for he had never even been a University man, only a Kingsman; not one that could be said to organize well, for from first to last he dealt in make-shift and patchwork; yet for all that a hero among school-

[illegible]; for he was beyond his fellows candid, fearless, and bountiful; passionate in his indignation against cruelty, ardent in admiring all virtue and all show of genius; so forgiving that for fifty years he seized every chance of doing kindness to a man who had tormented him at school; and so ingenuous [illegible] when he had misunderstood a boy's character and then found himself wrong, he suddenly grasped his hand and owned his error magnanimously. Many men have laughed at his rhetoric, and made themselves a reputation for wit by telling stories of his behaviour. Such men have probably never read the second part of *Don Quixote*. The knight was, after all, a true gentleman of fine mind, and his death was pathetic. Our Head Master was worthy of a high-souled poetical nation in its best age; and old men who had been his compeers in society wept at his funeral with younger men who had been only his humble yoke-fellows."

One great difference between the rule of Keate and the rule of Hawtrey was the new era of trust. Keate, as a jest already quoted said, exacted a certain amount of lying as a mark of respect; Hawtrey, on the other hand, always accepted a boy's word. "Your candour disarms me," was a favourite phrase. Force, suspicion, and the high-pressure system were entirely alien to his methods. To stimulate culture, not to produce exact scholars, was the end he set before himself. In his own Division he, perhaps, was hardly sufficiently severe on those that played the fool. Probably at this day Sixth form are more dignified than they were fifty or sixty years ago, when ridiculous scenes of the following order used to take place:—

One favourite joke, invented by Edward Thring and Henry Coleridge, was to pull the bell behind Hawtrey's chair to bring up Finmore, the Head Master's servant and maker of rods. An eye-witness describes the scene:—"Do you know the story of Thring (Captain of the School) tying a string round the handle of the bell just behind Hawtrey,

and passing the string under Hawtrey's chair to little Henry Coleridge on the other side? First pull, up came Finmore. 'Did you ring, sir?' 'No.' Second pull. Ditto. Much pressure and pinching to make Coleridge pull it a third time, but he did so. Again Finmore, asserting that it had been rung three times. Hawtrey looked about him and caught sight of the peccant string. 'Thring, did you *ring* the bell?' 'No, sir, I didn't *ring* it.' 'Thring, I'm ashamed of you—contemptible subterfuge.'" The threadbare jest lasted for many generations of Sixth form.

Windsor Fair was a favourite time for jokes. Dr. Kynaston tells the following:—"The Sixth form had brought into school a toy Noah's Ark and contents, which they set up in due procession, from Noah to Grasshopper, across the octagonal table under cover of Hawtrey's book, which he held in front of his face. On completion of the procession there was an irrepressible titter, which made him look up, and seeing what had been done, he only remarked, 'Eugh! Babieth!' He was sharp enough on another occasion when I, who sat by the door on Liberty form, was reading the current number of *Bleak House*, then coming out; 'I know what you are reading; bring me that book afterwardth, and thand up and conthrue your lethon!' After school he set me to translate the evidence of Joe at the inquest into Comic Iambics."

Besides his other scholastic reforms Hawtrey was the first to try and put the teaching of mathematics on a proper basis. When he became Head Master mathematics formed no part of the regular school work. There was a Writing and Arithmetic Master, Major Hexter, who had occupied the position for years and years. He was a retired officer of the Middlesex Militia and a justice of the peace, and lived in the old gabled house at the corner of the Playing Fields. His instructions were, of course, extras, and paid for as such; and the mathematics were nothing more than

elementary arithmetic. The story is told of him that he once paid a visit to Provost Goodall to ask that he might wear a gown, and that the boys should "shirk" him, to which Goodall, with his blandest smile, replied, "Well, Major Hexter, as to wearing a gown, do as *you* like; as to the boys shirking you, let *them* do as *they* like."

In 1836 Hawtrey tried to obtain the services of William Fowler Boteler, an old Etonian, who was 13th Wrangler in 1833, as Mathematical Master, but he was unsuccessful; and he then offered the post to his cousin, Stephen Hawtrey, 11th Wrangler in 1832, who was allowed to build, at his own expense, a schoolroom, known as the Rotunda, on land leased to him by the College, and now occupied by the Queen's Schools, and to engage Assistants of his own. He was hampered at first by the vested interests of Major Hexter, and in consequence only permitted to give instruction to the first thirty boys in the school. This difficulty was got rid of before long by his agreeing to pay a pension of £200 a year to Hexter. Mathematics still, however, remained an extra, and it was not till 1851 that Stephen Hawtrey was made Mathematical Assistant Master, and mathematics made part of the regular school work. Even then his assistants were not members of the regular staff, and not allowed to wear gowns, and this restriction was not removed till the death of Provost Hodgson. To make time for compulsory mathematics, Tuesday, which in regular weeks had been a whole holiday, was thenceforward a half-holiday only.

Hawtrey managed to do something also for the teaching of modern languages. In his opinion a knowledge of them was a necessary coping stone to a gentleman's education, but not to be placed on a level or brought into rivalry with the classics. With German, French, and Italian, and the literature of those languages, Hawtrey was well acquainted, and if he did not actually suggest, he certainly warmly welcomed the offer of the Prince Consort in 1841 to found annual prizes

for proficiency in those tongues. He always took great interest in the competition for these prizes, and in giving boys prize-books he often tried to stimulate them to acquire a good knowledge of languages by presenting them with French or Italian books. But he never considered it possible to make modern languages an integral part of the school curriculum, and have them taught in classes either by Englishmen or foreigners. In the last conversation that Edward Coleridge had with Hawtrey he said to him, "Is there not something in the disposition of English boys so utterly repugnant to Frenchmen that it would be impossible to teach the French language in class?" To which Hawtrey replied, "Sorry as I am to own it, I am obliged to confess that it is so." Hawtrey's successor, Dr. Goodford, like him an excellent French, Italian, and German scholar, and Dr. Balston were of the same opinion, and it was not till the appointment of Dr. Hornby that modern languages ceased to be in any respect "extras." It must be confessed that there is a good deal to justify that opinion, and probably the experience of many other Etonians agrees with that of the writer, that though it might be possible to learn enough French at Eton to take a place in French society as Horace Walpole did, it is extremely rare that anyone does so, and certainly not without "extra" instruction. Boys in the Army class no doubt learn more, but then the great object of marks in the Army examination is in full view, and the teaching less perfunctory.

There was one thing in particular that Hawtrey had at heart, and that was to improve the condition of the Collegers, but he had to wait till 1840 before anything was done. In that year Provost Goodall died, and thereupon the Fellows made some attempt to assert their statutory right to elect his successor in opposition to the Crown. They first approached Keate, but he did not care to leave the quiet of his country home for a situation which would involve him in heavy

expenditure. They then applied to John Lonsdale, who would sooner have been Provost of Eton than Archbishop of Canterbury, and received an encouraging reply; but before the day of election the Crown had put forward its nominee, Archdeacon Hodgson, and Lonsdale, though actually elected, after some hesitation declined the post, not wishing to stand in the way of a personal friend, or come into opposition with the wishes of the Queen and Prince Albert. In point of fact, Hodgson was not, at the time of Lonsdale's election, eligible for the post, not being a Bachelor or Doctor of Divinity, and that gave the Fellows good reason for ignoring the royal mandamus; but by the time Lonsdale had finally made up his mind, the defect had been hastily cured by the issue of a royal mandate to the University of Cambridge to admit him B.D., and the Fellows finally capitulated and elected Hodgson.

Hodgson, who was at the time Archdeacon of Derby and Vicar of Bakewell, was known to the world as the friend and faithful correspondent of Lord Byron. He had been for a short time Assistant Master in 1807, but had had little connection with the school since. He was in his sixtieth year, but full of energy and spirit, and eager before all things to ameliorate the condition of the Collegers. As his carriage passed through the Playing Fields, and the College buildings came into sight on his arrival at the Lodge, he exclaimed, "Please God, I will do something for those poor boys!"

The first thing that was done was to raise the scholastic standard. The election into College had become a mere matter of nomination; the *pro forma* examination consisted of little more than being prepared to answer in Latin to the questions of the Posers as to birth-place and the statutory requirements, and construe a few passages which were known beforehand.

It is recorded that on one occasion a boy was rejected because he was unable to decline "*bonus*." At one time the

examination was the occasion of an annual joke on the part of William Roberts, a Fellow: "My little boy, who was the father of Zebedee's children?"

In 1842 the examination was made a reality, and the names were placed on the indenture in order of merit. Further "Election Trials" for succession to King's and "Intermediates," an examination which finally settled the Collegers' order of seniority in their seventeenth year, were introduced.

As a testimony to the success of his efforts in this direction, Hawtrey was delighted when, in 1846, the Newcastle Scholar and Medallist were both Collegers. He sent a laconic note into College announcing the fact, "Rice, Scholar; Joynes, Medallist. Both in College! Keep it there." The note, framed and grimed with the dust of half a century, still hangs in the Captain's room, and on the back of the frame are inscribed the autographs of more than fifty Captains.

But the disgrace of the material condition of the Collegers had also made itself felt, and when in 1842 the King of Prussia asked to inspect the sleeping arrangements of the boys, he was refused on a ground never before heard of, that that part of the College was never shown to strangers.

Some improvement in the food, the introduction of beef into the bill of fare, and a later and more adequate supper were the first things accomplished. The latter, however, did not cause the abolition of the traditional supper in fireplace from October 11th till Easter, and the smuggled potations from the Christopher; they lasted whilst Long Chamber did.

The greatest improvement was the erection of the new wing in Weston's Yard, known as New Buildings. A subscription was started which amounted by 1844 to £14,000, and in that year, on the 20th June, Prince Albert laid the foundation stone, and was addressed in a Latin oration by Bernard Drake, Captain of the school. When this building was finished, in 1846, the forty-nine senior Collegers were able to

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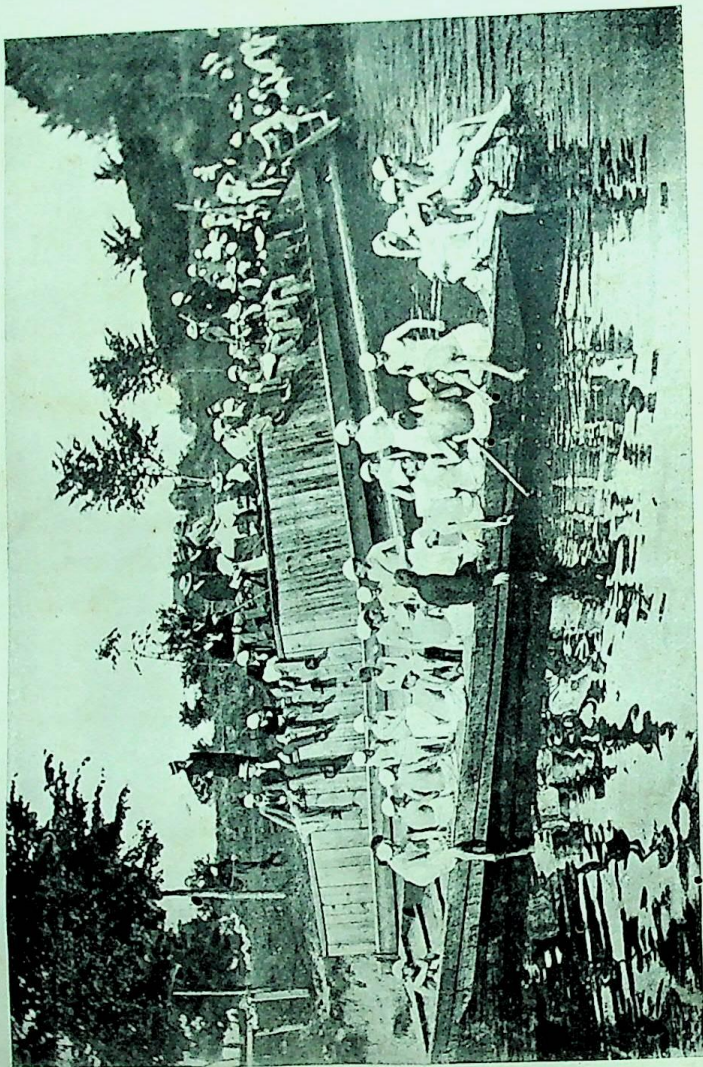

PASSING AT CUCKOO WEIR

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MESSRS. HILLS AND SAUNDERS

have separate rooms, warmed for the most part with hot-water pipes, and proper lavatory and sick-room conveniences were provided. The twenty-one juniors were accommodated in the remaining part of the old Long Chamber. In 1863 this was divided up into so-called "stalls" or cubicles for these twenty-one boys. This arrangement has been slightly modified at the present day; forty-seven boys have rooms in the New Buildings, the fifteen juniors in Chamber, and the remainder in separate rooms in what is known as Sixth Form Passage, part of the old dormitory. The change to the New Buildings was not altogether popular at the time; the extraordinary conservatism of boys glorifying the old arrangements. "We felt instinctively," says Mr. Arthur Coleridge, "that our theatricals in Long Chamber were doomed, likewise our Montem 'sure nights,' and our roaring songs and choruses, which dear old Hawtrey, a few yards off, affected not to hear." But perhaps the most important reform of all was the finding of accommodation for a Master to live in College and look after its inmates."

Mr. C. J. Abraham, afterwards Bishop of Wellington, earned the eternal gratitude of Collegers by giving up the profitable care of a popular boarding-house to look after them. Through his influence there set in a great improvement in moral tone, not to speak of the disappearance of many of the greater hardships of fagging, and the old bullying of Long Chamber. "He would come round in the evening," says an old Colleger, "to our rooms—a remarkably upright military figure—bearing a little lamp, would stand leaning against a bureau and discourse at length in a thoroughly friendly way with us, disarming us of all fear of him as a Master, and managing dexterously to introduce topics of high interest so as to rivet our attention." The New Buildings also included tea-rooms, and henceforward the College provided breakfast and tea exactly as the boarding-houses did.

The whole school was benefited in another way by th Library, which formed part of this block of buildings. Th nucleus of the collection was the Library founded by Praep which had hitherto been kept at the College bookseller's and some old books presented to the school by Dr. New borough, which had once given the name of Library to th Head Master's room, but had been latterly hidden away i seclusion. Dr. Hawtrey was munificent in his gifts of book and he and Dr. Okes presented a fine heraldic window which has now been transferred to the Museum in the Queen's Schools. Other donors gave various artistic and antiquarian objects, and it became in some sort a museum also. An excellent collection of stuffed birds presented by Dr. Thackeray, Provost of King's, has now been transferred to the Natural History Museum. The Library is supported by a compulsory subscription, levied on every boy who has reached the Middle Division of the Fifth form. This Library of Hawtrey's was removed, as has been said in a former chapter, to make room for additional accommodation for the Collegers and their matron in 1887. An Eton *jeu d'esprit*, bewailing the woes of the College lessee of a boarding-house, alludes to this last development thus—

> "Out goes your lease like candles at the snuff,
> And on they clap a score or two of pounds,
> That swells a Bursar's swollen revenue,
> And floors Miss Hackett's second breakfast-room."

Many of us regret much the disappearance of a delightful room, for us ever haunted by the kindly ghost of "Joseph" Oakley,* where we first dipped half-reluctant feet in the springs of Parnassus, and struggled into some glimmering of the meaning of poetry, philosophy, and art. The present room can only be regarded as a makeshift, it may be useful

* "His name isn't Joseph, you know, any more than Giles' at Williams' name is Giles, or half the people whose name one isn't sure about are really Joby."
—*About Some Fellows*, p. 72.

is a storehouse of books, it has not the charm of a real library, though one great advantage has resulted in the fact that it is much more frequented by Oppidans, who were rather apt to look on the old room as a sort of Collegers' reserve.

The effect of the improvements in College was seen at once in the enormously increased competition for scholarships, till at the present day there are often a hundred candidates for ten or a dozen vacancies, and members of the House of Lords do not disdain to send their sons into College.

The heavy round oak table now in Chamber was made out of wood from the old bedsteads, and so were the tables and stools in the Boys' Library.

Passing from these matters to others of lighter moment, we find some worthy of chronicle.

In 1836, for the second time, the flogging block was stolen. On this occasion the feat was performed by three old Etonians, Lord Waterford, Lord Alford, both members of the Eight of 1829, and Mr. J. H. Jesse. They had been giving a dinner at the Christopher to a party of boys after the Eton victory in the boat race against Westminster, and they were determined to signalize the occasion in some way before mounting their drag and starting for Town. The three got into Upper School by removing one of the panels of the doors, and then tried to get into the Library at the other end, but the door was too strong for them; Lord Waterford and Mr. Jesse thereupon got out of the window, and creeping along the narrow cornice, effected an entrance into the Library window. From that side the door into Upper School was opened without much difficulty, and the block and stock of birches were hastily loaded on to the drag and carried off to London. Two snuff-boxes made out of the wood and mounted in silver were sent to the Provost and Head Master, and the block, after forming for a time the seat

of the President of the Eton Block Club (for which no one was eligible who had not been flogged three times when at school), at last found honoured repose at Curraghmore, where it still remains.

Without question one of the most important reforms of Hawtrey's day was the abolition of the absurd system under which the authorities pretended not to know that boys boated, and in consequence no means were ever taken to prevent those who were unable to swim from going on the river. The institution of "passing," or the compulsory satisfaction of a swimming test before being allowed to boat, was due to George Selwyn, then private tutor at Eton to Lord Powis and afterwards Bishop of Melanesia and of Lichfield, and to William Evans, the drawing-master.

Selwyn himself was a swimmer of the most remarkable skill, and president of a Philolutric Club, which met every whole holiday morning at Windsor Weir. One of Selwyn's recorded feats was taking a running header and diving across the river at Upper Hope. Another was undressing under water, which he exhibited one evening at Upper Hope. He took a deep header and came up with his shoes in his hand; he took another header with a dive and had got rid of his trousers, and then a third and came up with his coat on his arm.

In consequence of the drowning of Charles Montagu, close to Windsor Bridge, in 1840, Selwyn and Evans made a strong remonstrance, with the result that boating was legalized, and setting foot in a boat when a "non-nant" was made a most serious offence. The good effect of the rule is seen in the fact that, though before that date there was a boy drowned every two or three years, since that time there has been only one, Seton Donaldson, in 1882, and his death was due to his becoming entangled in a towing rope, and in consequence unable to get from under a swamped boat. As early as 1549 there is a record of an inquest on Robert Sacheverell, a

[s]cholar who was drowned off the Playing Fields, probably by [t]he oak tree where, till modern times, Collegers used to bathe. [B]athing places were at the same time made at Athens, Upper [H]ope, and Cuckoo Weir, and watermen engaged in the [r]egular service of the College to watch the river and teach [s]wimming. In later years the best known of these was [S]ergeant Leahy, an old Irish soldier and the author of a book [e]ntitled *The Art of Swimming in the Eton Style*. No one who was taught swimming by him is ever likely to forget his oft-repeated injunction, "Dwell on the hands."

But one of the best things that Dr. Hawtrey effected for the morals of the school was the abolition of the Christopher Inn. It was right in the heart of Eton, a centre of continual noise and disturbance, for it was the rendezvous of coaches, of farmers on Eton market days, and of the whole country-side; the place where rowdy parties of undergraduates and old Etonians took up their quarters, and where boys were always going for drink of a more or less hurtful character. At one time even meetings of the Assistant Masters were held there, as well as clubs and coteries of boys. *The Etonian* alludes in the most open manner to the meetings there, where punch and bishop were freely discussed, and it was without question a fruitful source of demoralization.

The poetry of the *College Magazine* alludes to—

> "that tribe inglorious
> Who join beefsteak clubs and frequent the *estaminét*."

The Estaminét was an Oppidan club, which met in one of the Christopher cellars with outside steps leading to it, from half-past two till three, and discussed beer, porter, and bread and cheese. It prided itself on its selectness and exclusiveness. Another club which met at the Christopher was the Oppidan Museum, or Eton Court of Claims, a club of young Mohawks who used to carry off the tradesmen's signs and doorknockers, and make the owners come and redeem them at the

Christopher. The picture of a club meeting by R. Cruikshan[k] opposite, from *The English Spy*, was afterwards reproduce[d] on the lid of the club snuff-box.

The "Estaminét," under its later denomination of "Cellar," survived the extinction of the old Christopher for many years transferring itself to "Tap," the still licensed public house [of] Eton boys, where the ceremony of initiation by drinking [a] "long glass" also long continued.

The best-known landlord of the last century was a man called Kendall, who had been himself an Etonian, probably a Colleger, like many other sons of Eton and Windsor tradesmen of that time. His daughter Mary married Pote, the bookseller, and the event was commemorated by Canning in a facetious epithalamium quoted in Angelo's *Reminiscences*. The best-known landlords of this century were Garraway in the earlier years, and after him Jack Knight.

But to return to the subject of its abolition. The house had belonged to the Crown, but in 1845 the College got possession of it by an exchange, and Hawtrey lost no time in urging the Fellows not to renew the lease. His request was at first refused on the ground of the loss of rent; but Hawtrey was not to be daunted, and called together the Assistant Masters to discuss the matter, that he might if possible be fortified by their support. They were nearly unanimous; a few argued that some temptation should be always kept before the boys to brace their morals, upon which William Johnson is said to have exclaimed, "Oh, the Devil will do that for you without your help."

Thereupon Hawtrey wrote again to the Provost, most anxiously urging his views on the College, pointing out that the inn was no longer necessary as it had been in the past before the days of railways, that it served as a rallying point for noisy undergraduates, and that the landlord's large profits were mostly derived from Eton boys. "I have long complained and long borne with this Evil," he

THE OPPIDAN MUSEUM, 1824

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY R. CRUIKSHANK

wrote. "Every Vigilance is exercised to check it, but it is too much for me. It is really the only Mischief for which there is but one Remedy. The Remedy rests with yourself and the Fellows." This demand was successful, and a pernicious source of evil was at last removed. Hawtrey suggested that the site should be utilized for a new church for the parish of Eton. Fortunately, however, this idea was not carried into effect; it would have grievously cramped the College precincts, narrow enough already for modern developments. Instead of this the main part of the house was turned into a boarding-house, and so it has remained till now, but it is soon destined to be pulled down and replaced by a house more in accordance with this our latter-day luxuriousness The destruction of the old landmark is, we suppose, inevitable; but every old Etonian will tremble lest some architectural horror should take its place. The latest achievements of the Governing Body inspire no confidence in any lover of the arts.

The architectural changes in the Chapel were not the only changes stimulated by the Oxford movement. Something was at last done by way of religious instruction, which in the time of Keate was practically non-existent. As early as 1803 a pamphleteer, in a letter addressed to Goodall, had suggested the desirability of at least some attempt in this direction; and the suggestion that he makes, with hesitating deprecation of ridicule, of having prayers every night in the boarding-houses, shows pretty evidently the indifference on the subject. It would not be fair to blame the Head Masters entirely for this. When they could not address the boys from the pulpit, unless requested so to do by the Provost or Fellow in residence, it was not likely that their zeal would be extreme.

In those days there was no daily Chapel which the boys attended, but on Sundays and whole holidays two services, and one on half-holiday afternoons. The services were

usually gabbled through in the most perfunctory manner; the singing was furnished by the choir of St. George's, Windsor, and that only on Sunday and holiday afternoons, otherwise there was none. The hour of service at Eton prevented the Windsor choir staying beyond the anthem, and thereon followed the somewhat unseemly procedure of the whole choir filing out to reach St. George's in time for the service there.

On one Founder's Day dinner Harry Dupuis, returning thanks for the toast of "The Assistant Masters," said: "Mr. Provost, this state of things is intolerable. I, for one, protest against our having only a moiety of Mudge." Mudge was the St. George's tenor; but it was many years after this before the choir was put on a proper footing.

A duet between Conduct and Chapel clerk constituted the rest of the service. Mr. Arthur Coleridge says: "The demeanour of the Eton boys in chapel, as I remember it in the forties, would not warrant Dr. Boyd's favourite epithet, 'Uplifting.' We were a cold, stagnant, mute congregation." Any boy who made an audible response was regarded as a curiosity.

A great contrast is to be seen in Chapel nowadays, a change largely due to Sir Joseph Barnby, and still more to the zeal and devotion of Dr. Lloyd. To hear the fresh young voices of six hundred boys singing the 104th or the 107th Psalms is "uplifting," indeed, and will not be forgotten by anyone who has heard it.

Boys nowadays have the privilege of listening often to some of the best preachers in England; but in the middle of the century the discourses of old Fellows, who had long lost all touch with boyish life, were wearisome indeed, unless when, as in some cases, they were entirely ludicrous. Among the preachers who gave discourses of the latter character pre-eminent was Plumptre, known as "Moses" Plumptre. His texts were always "in part of the verse," and the following

These

1821 re all vouched for on good authority: "And his mother made him a little coat"; "Shout"; "Where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble." When the New Buildings for the Collegers were opened Plumptre preached an appropriate sermon on the text: "And Elisha said, Let every man take unto himself a beam, for the place we have made is too strait for us."

Plumptre was one of the kindest and most unobtrusively generous of men, a Tory of the most rigid and unbending kind, and his Protestant zeal knew no bounds. He was anxious that Montem should not be abolished, because he believed that it had taken the place of a pilgrimage to a shrine of the Virgin, and that it remained, when purified from superstitious ceremonies, as a standing protest against Popery. An aged lady of like sentiments with himself once said to him, "I hope, sir, you disapproved of Catholic Emancipation," and was perhaps slightly startled at the answer, "The wickedest thing, ma'am, since the Crucifixion." It was another Fellow whom Sir Fitzjames Stephen records to have opened a sermon thus: "The subject of my discourse this morning, my brethren, will be the duties of the married state." And yet another as bald as an egg who preached on: "My sins are more in number than the hairs of my head."

One Chapel custom that lasted down to the time of the restoration is noteworthy. Before that time the Sixth form Collegers, the noblemen, and baronets, sat in the upper row of stalls, or, rather, the seat that occupied the place of the modern stalls. When a Fifth form boy was promoted to Sixth form, or a boy through his father's death came into a title, it was customary for him on taking his seat for the first time to present his *confrères* with a packet of almonds and raisins to be eaten during service. This was known as "Church Sock," and irreverent as it sounds, was, like many other old customs, winked at by the authorities. No doubt

It was a relic of the levies made in ancient times by seniors at Universities and Schools on freshmen or *bejauni*. At the University of St. Andrews a custom still lingers by which a senior has the right to demand a packet of raisins from any freshman he meets, who has not previously paid this due.

Similar packets were distributed by new members of Sixth form in the first five o'clock school after their promotion from the Fifth, and as regards "Church Sock," it seems originally to have been for the benefit of Sixth form only, and to have been appropriated later by the noblemen as a praiseworthy custom.

"Prose," as a supposed period of religious instruction, we have already spoken of; a few verses of Greek Testament had to be said by heart on Monday morning, but were never construed or of necessity understood, and that, in Keate's time, was the full measure of religious education at the chief school of the Church of England. In Hawtrey's time "Prose" was abolished, a weekly Greek Testament lesson was started throughout the school, and it became usual for every tutor to give his pupils some teaching in religion or divinity at "Sunday Private." "Sunday Questions," a paper of questions set by the Division Masters and shown up in early school on Mondays, was a later development due to Dr. Goodford.

To encourage some knowledge of divinity and study of religion was one of the objects of the Duke of Newcastle in founding the scholarship that goes by his name. His original intention, from which Keate's good sense dissuaded him, had been to call it the "Christian Scholarship." Three papers in divinity have always formed an integral part of the examination, and are further rewarded by the Wilder divinity prize, founded by the late Vice-Provost. There have also been founded other prizes to encourage this study in the Lower forms of the school.

CHAPTER XX.

ETON GAMES—BOATING—CRICKET—FOOTBALL—FIVES—BEAGLES—RIFLE CORPS—MINOR AMUSEMENTS.

NO history of Eton would be complete without saying something more of games. They were always a most important feature of Eton life, and do not tend to become a less important one as the years roll on.

Provost Goodall is reported to have said of the Etonians of his day: "Happy boys, they have their games of all sorts. They have their playing-fields for their cricket and football; they have their walls for their fives; they play at hockey, and—I have heard*—they go out in boats; and in the intervals they learn some lessons."

Seven-and-forty years ago William Johnson wrote:—

> "They toil at games, and play with books,
> They love the winner of the race,
> If only he that prospers looks
> On prizes with a simple grace."

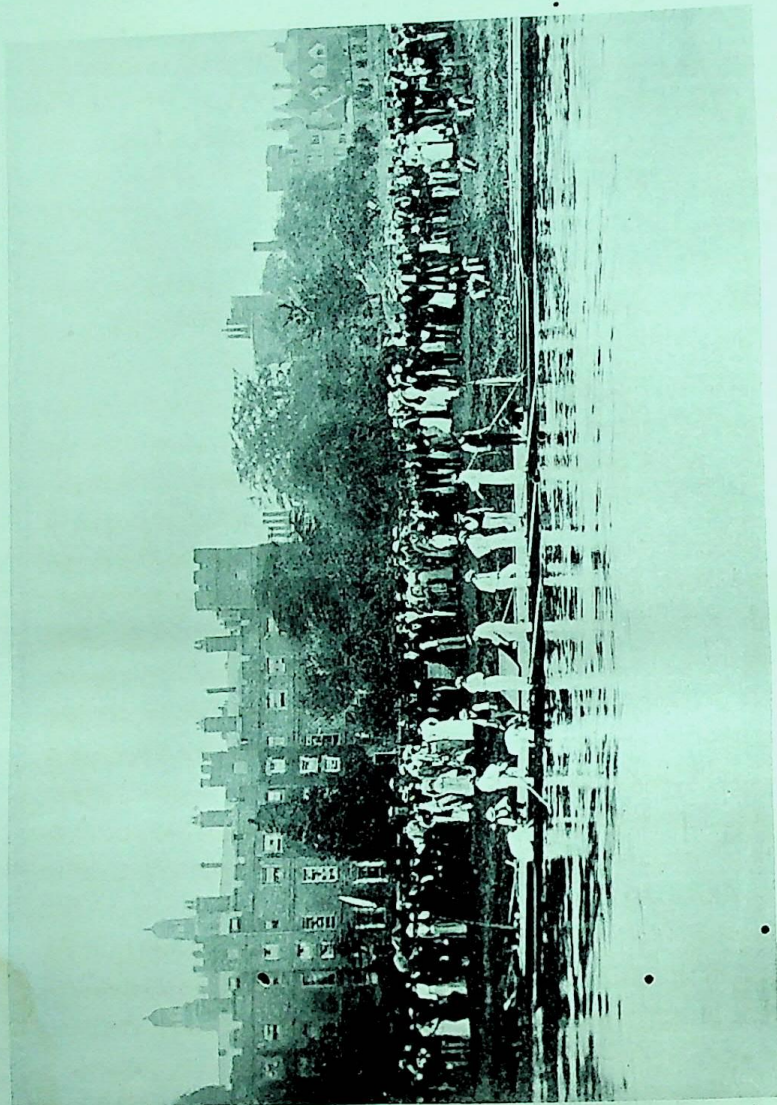
And he well defends the boyish sentiment on the subject as a manifestation of delight in action, the form of ἐνεργεία which is peculiarly the Englishman's end; and points out how good a nurse of the manly virtues the athletics of the public school are.

* Alluding to the before-mentioned fact that the river was out of bounds and boating theoretically not allowed.

Of the misty origin of boating something has been sa[illegible] in a previous chapter, and we may here continue the tale. The written records of boating do not begin before 1825, and Mr. Blake Humfrey for his information in the *Eton Boating Book* prior to that date had to rely on the memories of his correspondents. Long boats with regular crews, captains, and steerers have existed at Eton for a very long time, probably at least as early as the middle of the last century; but they have not always been eight-oars. In 1811 there was the still surviving ten-oar the *Monarch*, the *Dreadnought*, the *Defiance*, and the *Rivals* eight-oars, and the *Mars* and the *Mercury* six-oars.

In 1814 the *Hibernia* appeared for the first time; in 1824 the *Britannia* and the *Victory;* while the *St. George* and the *Thetis* appeared in 1826 and 1829 respectively. There have also been at different times a *Trafalgar*, a *Nelson*, an *Adelaide*, and a *Prince George*, besides the other names now familiar to Etonians. In early days, except the *Monarch* and the *Dreadnought*, each boat had a professional waterman to pull stroke and coach the crew, and this was not given up in the case of the Lower boats till 1828. Jack Hall and "Paddle" Brads were two well-known watermen of these early years.

The Captain of the Boats then, as now, took the stroke oar in the *Monarch*, and the second Captain usually rowed nine. In the beginning the Upper boats were filled with Sixth and Fifth form boys exclusively, and the Lower boats by boys from any part of the school. The *Hibernia* was originally manned entirely by Irish boys. Some of the ancient heroes are alluded to by Praed in the *Etonian* in his poem of *Surly Hall:*—

> "You think the boats well-mann'd this year!
> To you they may perhaps appear!—
> I who have seen those frames of steel,
> Tuckfield, and Dixon, and Bulteel,
> Can swear!—no matter what I swear."

FOURTH OF JUNE BOATING COSTUMES

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MESSRS. HILLS AND SAUNDERS

These three were in the boats in 1817, and the heroes of 1821, when Praed was writing, he commemorates later:—

"And look!—they land—those gallant crews,
With their jackets light, and their bellying trews;
And Ashley walks, applauded, by,
With a world's talent in his eye;
And Kinglake, dear to poetry
And dearer to his friends;
Hibernian Roberts, you are there,
With that unthinking, merry stare,
Which still its influence lends
To make us drown our devils blue
In laughing at ourselves—and you.
Still I could lengthen out the tale
And sing Sir Thomas with his ale
To all that like to read;
Still I could choose to linger long,
Where Friendship bids the willing song
Flow out for honest Meade!"

At this period apparently the modified naval uniform had been adopted, and each boat had ceased to choose its own fancy dress for the occasion. Before 1814 free choice had been the rule, and all kinds of fancy dresses used to appear, Highlanders, Swiss peasants, and so on. On one occasion the crew of the *Monarch* evoked great applause by appearing as galley slaves, all chained to their oars with gilded chains. Till 1828 the crews rowed up to Surley in their jackets, but in that year the check shirts of distinctive colours were first worn.

There was no regular School Eight till the races with Westminster were started. In 1820 was the first attempt at a match, but the authorities of both schools forbade the race on the day before it was to come off, and threatened expulsion if the prohibition was disregarded. The names of the Eton Eight that had been selected are cut on the Head Master's desk at the end of Upper School. Lord Dunlo, afterwards third Earl of Clancarty, was the Captain of the Boats, and it is interesting to note another Irish name for generations con-

nected with Eton rowing, that of John Lavallin Puxley. The first regular race with Westminster was rowed in 1829, but there is some tradition of a match having been got up by Lord Waterford in the previous year. Lord Waterford was not in the regular boats at all, but he had a boat of his own called the *Erin-go-bragh*, manned entirely by Irish boys, with which he challenged and beat Lord Alford, Captain of the Boats, and the regular Eight, in 1828. It is said that he also challenged Westminster and beat them, but if it was so it could not have been a regular Westminster Eight, for there is no mention of the match in the Westminster Water Ledger. The Rev. C. A. Wilkinson makes this take place in 1829, when a match was undoubtedly rowed, and the names of the Eights have been preserved by several authorities. It is true that Lord Waterford rowed in the Eton Eight in 1829, but it could not have been the crew of the *Erin-go-bragh*, for most of the Eight were English.

The first regular Eton *v.* Westminster took place on July 27th, 1829, the course being from Putney through the old Hammersmith Bridge and back to Putney Bridge. It was rowed at low water and started against tide, which was intended to make up to Eton their supposed disadvantage on London water. Each crew was steered by a professional waterman, Westminster by Brumwell, of Vauxhall; Eton by "the celebrated Mr. T. Honey, of Lambeth." "This latter circumstance," says *Bell's Life*, "had a material effect on the betting, for it was well known that no individual could be appointed to the station who possessed more scientific knowledge in handling the lines than Mr. Honey." The Eton crew were attired in broad blue striped Guernsey frocks and dark straw hats with blue ribbon, the Westminster in white shirts and straw hats. The account of the actual race shall be in the sporting reporter's own words:—

"The toss for station having been won by the Etonians, Mr. Honey took his place from a pier on the Middlesex side. On the

signal being given they went away in style, accompanied along the whole line of the towing-path by between forty and fifty gentlemen on horseback, the majority of whom wore a piece of blue ribbon in a button-hole of their coats. The Westminster gentlemen went ahead at starting by about a boat's length, and continued the lead up the river for nearly half a mile, when the Etonians came opposite their opponents, and by some well-timed exertions on the part of the rowers, and a degree of science on that of the coxswain, the *Britannia* [the Eton boat] was brought out in a slanting direction; and notwithstanding the skill displayed by Brumwell, who nearly succeeded in bringing the nose of his boat on the quarter of that of the opposite party, as she was shooting by, the Eton gentlemen went well ahead and maintained it throughout the distance, gallantly winning by above a quarter of a mile."

There was no match in 1830, but in 1831 one was rowed on Ascension Day at Maidenhead. The course was from Maidenhead Bridge to Queen's Eyot below Monkey Island and back, nearly six miles. Eton won by about a quarter of a mile, no doubt to a large extent owing to the great weight of the Westminster boat, which was a regular man-of-war's gig, large enough for the Eton boat to go inside.

The race took place without the sanction of the authorities. The Captain of the boat, Edward Moore, who rowed seven, says: "Within a quarter of an hour of the commencement of 'after twelve'* neither an Eton boy, nor a horse, nor wheels of any sort were visible in either Eton or Windsor, but the Maidenhead road was alive with every possible combination of the three. The race was won by Eton with great ease, and the sequel was a solemnly decorous lecture from the Doctor in 'Keate's Chamber' to the Eight. But the Doctor was evidently, nevertheless, well pleased."

Keate's first notice of the race having taken place was at six o'clock absence, when amid loud cheers a St. Bernard dog of Edward Coleridge was led up to him covered with blue rosettes that the boys had worn. He asked the præpostor

* Query 'after four,' for the race was started at half-past four.

beside him what it meant, and was told, "Please, sir, we've just beaten Westminster," which drew a smile and the usual "Foolish boys!"

One of the most extraordinary features to a modern oarsman in these early years is the deliberate fouling that was not only allowed but considered a great point of skill. The account quoted of the first race alludes to the ineffectual attempt of the Westminster coxswain to foul the Eton boat as it went ahead, but the most remarkable of races for these tactics was the third match in 1836. It was rowed at Staines, from Staines Bridge to Penton Hook and back, and both crews were steered by professional watermen. It was agreed before the start that no fouling should take place in the first half-mile. However, the Westminster boat, before this distance was accomplished, bored the Eton boat so closely in shore that it was obliged to foul or go into the bank. They did the former, and at the end of the foul, which lasted five or six minutes, the Westminster boat had lost her rudder, broken an oar, and been turned completely round. In consequence of the infringement of the agreement the umpires started the race again, and its progress must really be in the reporter's words :—

"The *Fairy Queen* (the Westminster boat) again took the lead, which she held for about three-quarters of a mile, when the Etonians came upon them, and some smart fouling was the result. Eton at length cleared, and showed the way down the stream. In rounding the distance boat they were close together, and immediately after doubling the station punt the Westminsters came alongside and fouled. Eton shortly cleared, but in going away the Westminsters caught them on the starboard quarter, which nearly put the *Victory* into the bank stern up. The Etonians, however, shortly cleared themselves from this awkward situation, and once more went in advance; and notwithstanding they were occasionally bumped by the *Fairy Queen* in working up against the stream, they maintained the lead, ultimately winning by several boat's lengths. The match proved a treat throughout, by the spirited and gallant manner in which it was contested by both parties."

Four distinct fouls besides occasional bumps seems a pretty good record for one race; it looks almost as if in origin the bumping race was not won by the mere bump, but was an actual struggle between the steerers as well as the oarsmen, carried on till the winning-post was passed.

One is not so surprised after this to learn that in bumping races between the boats feelings waxed so warm that on one occasion the crews of the *Defiance* and the *Dreadnought* adjourned to dry land to decide the matter of a disputed bump with the fist. [illegible] bumping races took place in old times mostly between the 1st of March, then as now the beginning of the aquatic year, and Easter. The course was then usually from Windsor Bridge to Surley Hall, for the lock at Boveney had not then been made. Before 1830 there were few races except these somewhat informal bumping races. Upper Sixes seems to have been one of the earliest races, and it retained its name, with true Eton conservatism, long after it had in point of fact become Upper Eights.

The heavy tub eights in which their grandfathers rowed would amaze this generation, and the changes in boat-building have brought about changes in the style of rowing; it was impossible in the old boats to get all the work on at the beginning of the stroke, which had to be rowed steadily through, and to get well forward was by no means an idea that commended itself to the ancients. The first outrigger was used at Eton in 1852, and down to 1860 the *Victory* was the only one in regular use. Most of the practice was done, till 1861, in a form of boat now extinct, with rowlocks in the gunwale for all except stroke and bow, who had half out-riggers.

But in spite of all these changes most of the important races of to-day have existed for sixty or seventy years. The sculling and the pulling, which were at first sweepstakes rowed for the money collected, still start from the same place and turn at the same point. Upper Sixes and Lower

Sixes reappear as Upper and Lower Eights. Double Sculling and Double and Single Punting have gone, but we have House Fours, which were started in 1856, through the exertions of Mr. Lyulph Stanley, then Captain of the Oppidans, in collecting subscriptions for a challenge cup. Until 1869 the Collegers were not in the same position as the Oppidans in regard to boating. Before 1840 they used not to be allowed above Windsor Bridge, but had to use the river from Windsor to Datchet. In that year Dr. Hawtrey publicly announced, in Upper School, that they were thenceforth to row above bridge like the Oppidans. They had some annual races amongst themselves, and usually had a Four on the river. In 1864 they put on an Eight for the first time, of which the stroke, Reginald Marsden, rowed four in the school Eight in the Westminster race of that year. From that year, till 1869, the College Eight always joined in the Fourth of June and Election Saturday processions. In 1868 Collegers were admitted to all the races hitherto confined to the boats, and in the next year they were allowed to become members of the boats, an additional long-boat was put on, and College aquatics ceased to exist separately from the rest of the school.

The race with Westminster, in 1837, was noteworthy, not only for its being the first time that they beat Eton, but because it was the last public appearance of William IV. William Rogers, who rowed five in the Eton crew, relates the legend that it was the defeat of Eton which caused the King's fatal illness: "The King was present, and declared the Eton boys lost because Dr. Hawtrey was looking on. The Eton boys in their turn said that their defeat was the immediate cause of the King's illness. On the morning of the race His Majesty had said to Lord Howe, 'What carriage shall I have to-day?' The answer was, 'Your Majesty ought not to go out; you are too unwell.' But he meant, he said, to see the match. I remember well his figure, seated in a closed

carriage, wrapped in a white greatcoat, about a hundred and fifty yards from the bridge. As soon as he saw that the Westminsters were ahead, he pulled down the blinds and drove back to the Castle, which I do not think he afterwards left." The Westminster race took place in 1842, 1843, 1845, 1846, and 1847, Eton winning in 1843 and 1847; and it was revived in 1860, 1861, 1862, and 1864, Eton winning each time. No race has taken place since, and as in 1884 boating at Westminst[illegible] entirely discontinued, we are not likely to see anoth[illegible]

In the years when no race took place there was often some interchange of civilities between the schools, and the Westminster Eight several times took part in the procession of boats on Election Saturday. As late as 1877 an invitation was sent from Eton to take part in the Fourth of June procession, but it had to be regretfully declined.

Something has been said in a previous chapter of the early history of cricket. It has always, at least within any living memory, divided attention with boating; the school has always been divided into "wet bobs" and "dry bobs," though those two names are nothing like as old as the actual division. Contrasting the cricket of to-day with the cricket of the past, the most striking difference is undoubtedly that it has become much more of a business, and much more scientific. There is, of course, nothing peculiar to Eton cricket in that, but though, perhaps, there are those who think that it occupies too large a portion of the "dry bob's" day, yet there is little question that the moral advantages are with the modern. The cricket of modern Eton is due to Mr. R. A. H. Mitchell. Before he came back to Eton as a Master in [illegible] there was practically no coaching at all. If you could not bat or bowl by nature you were never taught, and you must learn to correct your faults by the painful experience of finding out what their effect was. There used to be, it is true, professional bowling, but, as a

general rule, all that the professional did was to bowl wit[illegible] dogged accuracy, anything beyond that was not in his line.

Mr. Mitchell's assiduous attention, aided by Mr. G. R. Dupuis and Mr. E. C. Austen-Leigh, has immensely raised the general standard of excellence throughout the school. It is an instance of what good teaching can do in any department of activity or knowledge; the geniuses will come to the front anyhow, and teaching may perhaps not do very much for them; but geniuses [illegible]e, and to the average man or boy good teaching is ev[illegible]ng. But there has all the same been rather a want of this teaching among the smaller boys. The system of organization of games has always been on the basis of clubs, without reference to houses, and it has been very difficult to ensure every boy who wanted to take part in cricket getting an opportunity of playing in a game; and, for that reason, there has at different times been a great temptation to boys, who would otherwise have played cricket, to take to the river. The original Clubs were Upper, Middle, and Lower, and though, as regards Upper Club, admission to the games was solely regulated by merit, it was by no means so with the others; position in school and personal friendship with the "Keepers" have their influence also. Following them came "Sixpenny," subsequently divided into Upper and Lower, and reserved for Lower boys, and in still later times "Jordan," and other rather scratch clubs, known somewhat cruelly as "Refuse."

Another great disadvantage has been that except as regards Upper Club the cricket grounds were all used for football, and, therefore, a really good wicket was out of the question. No one would say that the wicket even in Upper Club was perfect, or the ground altogether an ideal one from a cricketing point of view, but it is in compensation one of the most beautiful grounds in England.

In old days Keate would call absence in the Playing Fields on match days, and this lasted down to the days

ETON *v.* WINCHESTER, 1897

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MESSRS. HILLS AND SAUNDERS

ETON *v.* WINCHESTER, 1897
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